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China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 89



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'XINHUA': ROMANIA'S 'SCIENTEIA' ON WARSAW TREATY ANNIVERSARY

OW161440 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1806 GMT 14 May 80

[Text] Bucharest, 14 May--Romania's SCIENTEIA 13 May published editorial department article on the 25th anniversary of the signing of the Warsaw treaty. The article again emphasized that the Warsaw treaty should be based on principles of mutual respect for national independence and state sovereignty, equality of rights and noninterference in internal affairs among countries. It called on the two big military blocs to reduce armaments, dissolve military bases, recall troops stationed in foreign lands and begin talks on dissolving NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

The article said: The signing of the Warsaw treaty 25 years ago was prompted by specific factors and special international conditions. The Warsaw treaty stipulates its basic objective as follows: "If it occurs in Europe that a country or a group of countries launches an armed invasion against one or more signatories, each signatory should individually or, through agreement with other signatories, render immediate assistance to that country or those countries being invaded." This clearly defines the defensive nature of the treaty, whose specific goal is to resist foreign aggression and whose validity is confined to the European continent.

The article said: The Warsaw treaty is based on the principles which serve as guidelines for a new relationship among the socialist states--the principles of mutual respect for national independence and state sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual benefit and mutual comradely assistance among countries. It is completely in accord with the charter's principles to maintain the view that it is up to the individual country to decide whether to take part in the treaty's activities, and that each country's troops are directed by that country's leading party and government organs and act according to their orders and decisions. This view is a definite derivation from the charter's principles.

The article said: For all these years after signing the treaty, Romania has acted according to the spirit of these provisions in complete conformity with the principles and obligations laid down in the treaty.

After reviewing Romania's numerous positive international activities for consolidating world peace and cooperation among people of all countries, the article said: Today, when serious tension emerges in international life, it becomes more urgent to adopt some concrete measures and proposals. New conflicts have surfaced before the old ones have been settled. The incredible arms race has become more violent, and new plans for escalating the rivalry keep coming up. All this poses a tremendous threat to peace and independence of all nations and increases the danger of the outbreak of a global military conflict.

The article said: This situation has a serious impact on Europe's political climate. This is the very region where the two confronting blocs concentrate the largest number of troops and nuclear and conventional weapons and possess the largest number of military bases equipped with the most modern, destructive weapons. Despite the fact that Europe has become a continent oversaturated with weapons, new measures are still being taken to increase the quantity of nuclear armament. A case in point is the recent NATO decision to deploy a new type of missile in this continent.

Under this circumstance, greater efforts should be made to prevent a new escalation of arms expansion, to bring about negotiations for postponing, if not relinquishing, the plan for deploying these missiles and to thoroughly ban and finally destroy these weapons.

The article said: It is of utmost importance to adopt measures to reduce military spending, troops and weapons; dissolve military bases; recall troops stationed in foreign lands to their own countries; and begin talks on simultaneously dissolving NATO and the Warsaw treaty organization.

In conclusion, the article stressed: Historical experience shows that a real and firm security in this continent and world can be established only through advocating and fostering a new relationship among truly democratic countries and through a sincere respect for state independence and sovereignty, equality of rights, noninterference in internal affairs, cooperation and mutual respect. A new relationship should be established to insure that every country can make economic and social progress in a free and self-possessed manner. Only then will favorable conditions prevail for promoting productive cooperation, and will Europe turn into a peaceful and progressive continent where all peoples coexist on good terms.

CSO: 4005

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'GUANGMING RIBAO' CARRIES LETTER ON AMERICAN SOCIETY

HK191020 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 10 May 80 p 3

[Letter from America by Zhang Suchu [1728 4790 0443], Chinese student in the United States: "An Aspect of American Society as Seen From One Family"]

[Excerpts] When I first arrived at New York last fall, arrangements were made for me to live with the (Burke) family in Garden City which was very near the campus of Adelphi University. This was done because the university had not yet arranged a dormitory room for me. Although I moved into the university dormitory later, Mrs (Burke) still kept up friendly relations with me--a female Chinese student.

Garden City is a relatively high class residential area, and the (Burke) family is a middle-class bourgeois one which does not have to worry about food and clothes. Here, people can enjoy all kinds of facilities as a result of highly-developed science and technology. However, they can also see all sorts of misfortune in the families brought about by the degenerating morality of placing money above everything. For instance, the divorce rate is rising higher and higher. Even the (Burke's) who are in their 60's and have been married for 37 years are starting divorce proceedings because of money. The general mood of society is deteriorating daily.

The (Burke) Family

Mr (Burke) is now 65 years old and is a partner in five laundromats (providing machines for the customers to use themselves). He is a quiet man, unconcerned about politics but interested in making money to lead a better life. He was very polite to me but we did not have much to talk about. Mrs (Burke) is 59 years old and was a dancer when she was young. After she married and had two children, she could no longer dance and became a controller in a theater ticketing office. She was the first woman vice chairman of the Garden City local government and one of the responsible persons of the Long Island branch of the American-Chinese Friendship Association. Mr and Mrs (Burke) have a son and a daughter. The daughter is 32, married with a 3-year-old child and has received two masters degrees. The son is 29, married, a doctor of law, and now a lawyer in Washington.

This couple is a middle-class bourgeois family. They bought their present house in Garden City 26 years ago. From the outside, the house looks like it is two stories, but in fact, it is a modern "split level." Altogether it has four and a half stories with three bedrooms, two living rooms, two bathrooms, a garage and 2 rooms in the basement--one for the laundry and the other for a recreation room. The price of houses has risen tremendously due to inflation. This house, which was worth \$25,000 26 years ago, can now be sold for at least \$120,000.

Modern Equipment

The (Burke's) each have a car and they jointly own an airplane with two other families. The old man is over 60, but he still can fly an airplane. They flew to Canada one weekend not long after I moved into their house. There are three television sets in their house, one in the bedroom, one in the living room and another in the kitchen. There is also a washing machine and a dryer with a 60-pound capacity in the basement.

There are three telephones in the house, in the bedroom, living room and kitchen. One of them is portable and can be taken anywhere at any time. There are also a lot of new appliances in the kitchen including a meat and vegetable chopper and grinder, and a rice-cooker which cooks the rice in a few minutes.

Since the incidences of theft are high in America, the (Burke's) have self-illuminating lights in the house to protect themselves against burglars. Doors are easily pried open, especially when one is not at home. This light turns on automatically when it gets dark outside and no one is at home, giving a false impression that someone is home.

There is also a police alarm installation on the main door to guard against burglars. The electric wires are connected directly to the police station, and if there is anyone who tries to pry the door open, the alarm will ring in the police station indicating which house to go to.

It costs about \$2,000 to have this installed on all the main doors and windows, and the average family can hardly afford this.

Incidentally, it is necessary to pay great attention if you ride bicycles in America because there are a lot of people who steal them. It is necessary to lock a bike to a stone railing or iron bars with a long chain. Otherwise, it can be easily stolen since the majority of people have cars and it is easy to put a bike inside.

Strange Bedfellows

From the point of view of an outsider like me, the (Burke) couple seemed to be spending their remaining years happily. I never saw them argue.

In fact, this was only the superficial situation, the relationship between them has already developed to the stage of sharing the same bed but dreaming different dreams.

The cause of the problem was a dispute over property. Property is of supreme importance in American society and there are frequent cases of murdering people for money. Mr (Burke) wanted to sell the house several years ago and use the \$120,000 for business. His wife firmly opposed this since she had acquired a certain political status in Garden City and loved her social activities very much. Apart from this, she had a feeling for the place and was reluctant to leave since her children had been brought up in this house. This has become the basic disagreement between the couple.

Initiating Divorce Proceedings.

Both parties have basically agreed to a divorce now, and the only problem is the question of property. Mr (Burke) insists on selling the house and dividing the money equally. However, Mrs (Burke) insists that she retain the house and that the husband move out since she is the innocent party of the divorce. She has also demanded that Mr (Burke) give her alimony of \$125 a week, that is \$500 a month.

The fee for hiring a lawyer is very high in America. Mrs (Burke's) lawyer has demanded \$1,100 for handling the case. The fee is calculated on an hourly basis and it is estimated that it would take 10 hours to settle the case and an extra \$100 is charged for the paper used to draft the document and the prosecution letter. If the case is not settled in 10 hours' time, Mrs (Burke) will have to pay an extra amount.

Both parties are now playing tricks in the guise of law.

The result of this case is not known yet and depends on either party's more effective application of the articles of law. In light of the (Burke's) divorce case, we can see one aspect of American society. Of course, we cannot make generalizations. American society is complicated and it is necessary for me to obtain further observation and understanding of it.

CSO: 4005

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' DISCUSSES CONSCRIPTION IN THE UNITED STATES

HK170312 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 May 80 p 7

[News analysis by Tang Guowei [3282 0948 4850]: "Why Is the United States Restoring Its Draft System?"]

[Text] Earlier this year, U.S. President Carter pointed out in his State of the Union message that the activities of the Soviet Union in the Southwest Asian and Persian Gulf areas had presented the United States with a "still broader challenge." As a result, the United States is ready to restore the draft system to be able to rapidly mobilize if necessary. Carter's speech has aroused strong reactions in the United States and launched vigorous arguments.

The United States had adopted the draft system for 30 years. During the war of aggression in Vietnam, many American young people boycotted and resisted the draft. It was changed to a volunteer system in 1973, but registration continued. In April 1975, the registration ended.

However, a shortage of recruits has appeared in the United States in recent years. The number of volunteer soldiers has continuously decreased, because many American young people regard their study at institutes of higher learning as their cardinal ambition. They believe that there are more attractions in studying in institutes of higher learning than in enrolling in the military services. Last year, the army, navy, air force and marines again failed to fulfill their conscription plans for the third year.

According to U.S. newspapers and magazines, many Americans, particularly those in the military, believe that the present volunteer system in the United States contains not only the problems of insufficient soldiers, but also the problems of quality and other difficulties. At present, most American soldiers are of minority nationalities. Only part are whites, most of whom come from poorer families. Most of these new soldiers are young people who have either been deprived of education or unemployed. Their cultural standards are not high and they have many difficulties in grasping modern military technology. Secondly, the proportion of female soldiers is continuously increasing, causing inconveniences to an emergency mobilization. Thirdly, the speed of the replacement of new soldiers is slow.

and cannot conform with the demands of war time. Since the current draft organs in the United States do not actually play any role, they do not even know the number of qualified recruits among young people who are of the right age or their whereabouts. Besides, the volunteer military service costs an average of \$2 to \$3 billion a year higher than the conscription system.

Due to the above problems existing in the volunteer military service system, high-ranking generals and leaders in the army, navy, air force and marines believe it is possible to restore the draft system. They propose to at least restore the registration of soldiers. However, some senior civil officials in the Defense Department still strongly support the volunteer military service. They worry that the new draft or registration system will cause large-scale resistance from young people. However, there are increasing numbers of people in the Defense Department who believe that the United States cannot rely on its current military strength to curb the aggressive challenge of the Soviet Union.

Therefore, there are now increasing numbers of Americans who have this unanimous view: Carter's conscription and registration proposal is an emergency measure and a concrete step for dealing with Soviet expansion. It is very timely and essential. It is a good opportune moment to strengthen U.S. military power and war preparedness to change the U.S. image of being weak and powerless abroad, redeem the international prestige of the United States and "curb the Soviet Union from militarily and politically advancing toward the Persian Gulf."

American young people have shown different reactions to Carter's proposals. Many students expressed their support for conscription and registration. Some universities were even the centers of the past antiwar movement. However, demonstrations and parades opposing the restoration of conscription and registration have also occurred in New York, Philadelphia and Washington. According to analyses of U.S. newspapers and magazines, most congressmen are expected to agree to the registration of men. Some congressional leaders have predicted that it would be impossible to pass through a proposal to register women.

It seems that the argument on draft and registration will continue in the United States for some time. However, we can see from the proposal of these issues and many circumstances in the argument that the United States in face of the Soviet offensive is reconsidering the policy of "detente" of recent years and demanding that a strong policy toward the Soviet Union be adopted. Those who advocate countering Soviet expansion in the key strategic regions are increasingly in the leading position. Undoubtedly, this will produce an influence which will affect the world situation and which cannot be ignored.

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'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMENTS ON SOVIET THREAT TO THE WORLD

HK200848 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 May 80 p 7

[Random notes by Sima Da: "Disputes Are Found Everywhere in the World"]

[Text] West German postal worker (Karin Woersike) and her baker husband (Gangte) have decided to leave West Germany. They have taken their children and have emigrated to Australia 10,000 miles away on the other side of the world. Before their departure, (Woersike) emotionally told reporters at the Frankfurt airport: "People can live anywhere."

Today in West Germany, there are many families "who have completely changed their life style overnight" just like this family. This year, "there have been very great developments in the frequent and continuous flow of people willing to leave the country." The people are all looking into "the possibility of living in another country." Some have quit their jobs, sold their property and given up their homes. Groups of them have left the country in which they have lived for several decades and flown to Canada and the United States in the western hemisphere and to New Zealand and Australia in the southern hemisphere.

They are neither Vietnamese nor Cuban-type refugees. They were not driven out by the authorities nor did they have difficulty in their daily life. In fact, they left the country in a hurry because the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has made the threats to European and West German security more serious. This is the real reason why the (Woersike) family and many other West German families have moved to distant places. (Shitubobeike), an immigration official in Bremen said: "Since Ivan (nickname for the Russians) sent troops, the number of people who have come to this office has doubled."

The Germans of today understand war very clearly and are very seriously worried. This is because Germany started two world wars within this century and suffered great calamities on both occasions. Now, after the Afghanistan incident, the West German people have once again seen the worrying shadows of a new war. Not long ago, West German Chancellor Schmidt four times within a week compared the seriousness of the current world situation with that of 1914 before the first world war. Britain's TIMES said: "Since the international situation seems to have gone out of control, the ghosts of war are wandering in West Germany again."

The situation is serious and the people are worried. What then should be done?

One possibility is to adopt the ostrich policy like West German theologian (Corweice) and not pay any attention to world events or talk about them. He accused the West German newspapers and politicians for currently mentioning the word "war" too often. He said "this word should not be considered or mentioned." Shakespeare's Juliet said: "That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." This is the innocence of young girls. Yet the theologian who bemoans the state of the world believes that as long as people do not mention "war" then war could be avoided. This is even worse than pedant-type foolishness.

Another possibility is to fly to a distant place at the other end of the world to seek an ideal land of tranquility like the (Woersike) family.

However, this world is linked together from the east to the west and from the north to the south. No matter which corner of the world you go to, you still cannot leave this planet. The war god of the Kremlin has not only covered the air of the Baltic Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf with military threats and the shadow of war, but is expanding toward the Indian Ocean and the South Pacific. Although Mrs (Woersike) thinks that "people can live anywhere," under the serious threat of Soviet military expansion, who can say that places outside Europe are safe? At about the same time that the (Woersike's) moved to Australia, West German Defence Minister Apel went to New Zealand for a visit. He clearly pointed out: "Since the Soviet Union has continuously strengthened its naval forces, everyone should make proper preparations to deal with a Soviet entry into the South Pacific." If the Soviet warships succeed in building military bases in the oceanic continent, where can the (Woersike) family go?

In his later years, a Song Dynasty poet, Xin Qiji, wrote in "To the Tune of Nan Ge Zi": "In carefully looking through the dust in the sun's ray, I discover disputes everywhere among the people." To get rid of man's disputes, he felt "nothing is fragrant except the wine." In this world today, contradictions are numerous and the disturbances are beyond control. The shadow of Moscow's sabres and swords does not only rest in the Persian Gulf and the river Rhine, but they are rapidly extending toward the South Pacific and all the areas which the Soviet Union wants to occupy and control. The best way for people to take hold of their destiny and protect their safety is for the people of various countries to unite and struggle with this greedy hegemonist. Disputes are found everywhere in the world. What is the use of evading reality and looking for an illusionary peace?

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'BA YI' ON JOINT PRC-JAPAN UNDERSEA PETROLEUM PROJECT

OW181657 Ba Yi Radio [Clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 17 May 80

[Text] The agreement concluded by China and Japan to jointly exploit petroleum in the Gulf of Bohai will undoubtedly lead to an increase in China's oil production to some degree. However, the agreement has attached conditions that state that the crude produced from the gulf must basically be shipped to Japan. Although the money obtained by selling crude to Japan will play a definite role in realizing the modernization program, we must and should take into consideration that China's economic cooperation with capitalist countries is not only an economic question but also a complex, difficult political question.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that running joint enterprise with capitalists is highly dangerous. He said: "Western countries now invariably hope to establish joint enterprises with us by the inducement of their technology. We are not going to take this road. Our pace of development may be accelerated a little if we take this road, but its biggest disadvantage is that we may become dependent on them technologically." Obtaining loans from capitalists, running joint enterprises with them, using new equipment and production technology from capitalist countries and employing foreign experts and advisers may benefit our exploitation of mineral resources and help raise our production level to a degree. However, we must be careful not to become dependent on them technologically.

As regards the Japanese proposal on joint exploitation for oil in waters around the Tiaoyutai Islands [Senkakus], this is not a question of economic cooperation between the two countries. Everybody knows that this directly concerns China's sovereignty and the dignity of the Chinese nation. While ordering its troops to occupy China's Tiaoyutai Islands, Japan declared to the whole world that the islands are an indisputable, inalienable part of Japan's imperial territory. This is an out-and-out aggressive act of forcibly occupying China's territory and a demonstration of the reactionary Japanese rulers' behavior of vainly attempting to encroach upon China's territory. Refusing to hold talks with China on the Tiaoyutai issue--by taking advantage of Comrade Deng Xiaoping's statement that the issue should be left for the next generation to solve--the Japanese have resorted to every means to legalize their occupation of China's territory.

The Chinese Government has formally issued a serious warning in connection with this conspiracy by the reactionary Japanese rulers and has also solemnly pointed out that the Japanese reactionaries have resorted to all tricks in an attempt to make their occupation of China's territory a fait accompli. Nevertheless, this will be futile because no matter how forcefully the Japanese reactionaries argue and no matter the tricks they resort to, they will not be able to turn Chinese territory into Japanese territory. The Japanese reactionaries are now employing shameless trickery by asking China to cooperate with Japan in jointly exploiting the oil in the waters surrounding the Tiaoyutai Islands.

The Japanese are now acting as master of the water areas around the Tiaoyutai Islands. We are only a partner they are inviting to jointly exploit oil in the sea areas around these islands. Some central leading comrades are prepared to accept this Japanese proposal in order to establish an alliance and strengthen friendship with Japan, thereby helping the Japanese to make their occupation of Chinese territory a fait accompli and to legalize their permanent occupation of China's Tiaoyutai Islands. The stand taken by some central leading comrades toward the important issue of state sovereignty and territorial integrity is intolerable. [Words indistinct] We must not only attend to immediate economic interests but must also consider the political question, the dignity of the Chinese nation and its long term interests.

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BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL JAPANESE VISITORS--Some 38 Japanese film workers came to Nei Monggol region to shoot the outdoor scenes for a Japanese television film. This film introduces the deeds of Genghis Khan, the Monggol founder of the Yuan Dynasty. Shooting began on 20 April and finished a few days ago.
[SK191015 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 May 80]

NETHERLANDS ORCHESTRA IN SHANGHAI--A Netherlands chamber orchestra gave its premiere in Shanghai on the evening of 14 May. Among those present was Yang Ti, vice mayor of Shanghai, who, during the intermission, met with the leader, conductor and a number of the members of the orchestra.
[OW151423 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 May 80]

SUDANESE WOMEN'S DELEGATION--The Sudanese women's delegation arrived in Nanjing 10 May. On the evening of 11 May, Vice Governor Zhou Ze of the Jiangsu provincial people's government met with members of the Sudanese women's delegation and had cordial and friendly talks with them. [OW151423 Nanjing Jiangsu Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 13 May 80] Zhong Min, secretary of the Shanghai municipal CCP Committee, met with and hosted a banquet for a visiting Sudanese women's delegation in Shanghai on the evening of 14 May. Before the banquet began, Zhong Ning had a cordial conversation with members of the delegation. [OW151423 Shanghai City Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 14 May 80]

CBO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

EXPERIENCES OF CHINESE PIONEERS IN AMERICA REVIEWED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1,
1980 pp 93-111

[Article by Zhu Jieqin (2621 2638 0530): "The Role and Plight
of the Chinese People in the Development of the United States
in the Late 19th Century"]

[Text] What is discussed in this article concerns part of the history of the overseas Chinese, which is also an important part of the history of Sino-American relations. Based on both Chinese and foreign documents from public and private sources, it describes how a large number of Chinese crossed the ocean to join the local people in building the United States, how they made their great contributions, how they paid a heavy price for these contributions, and how they were ill treated and elbowed out. There were certainly historical, social, and other objective causes for these incidents, and the issue was by no means simple. European and American scholars have published many monographs, including books and essays, on this subject which have provided valuable reference materials and even objective comments. However, because of class interests and different racial concepts, their views and conclusions can hardly be the same as ours.

It is our opinion that a scientific conclusion on this question is possible only through class analysis. All prejudices and bias in the history of Sino-American relations, the history of overseas Chinese, or the history of the development of U.S. capitalism should be discarded before there can be a reasonable conclusion on this issue. This article will endeavor to analyze this issue from the historic and scientific aspects, and it will cite historical facts to show that overseas Chinese are peace-loving workers and that they have made great contributions to social construction in the country of their domicile and to the friendly relations between the Chinese and American peoples.

I. Cause of Large-Scale Influx of Chinese into America in the Late 19th Century

There have been different versions on the timing of the influx of Chinese into America. According to Bancroft, Chinese people were already building ships in California from 1571 to 1780. Many said that Chinese workers were already in the Far West in 1788. According to the diary of Samuel Shaw, the first U.S. consul in Guangzhou, there were Chinese people with no fixed abode in New England in the late 18th Century. Another record says that in 1819, a Chinese had already lived in Boston for 2 or 3 years, in addition to several Chinese students. According to incomplete statistics from official U.S. sources, there were 3 Chinese in 1830, 8 in 1840, and as many as 758 in 1850. Thus, in 10 years, the number was increased by nearly 100 times.^{1/} In 1860 there were 34,933 Chinese in the United States, and in 1870 the number increased to 62,736.^{2/} Thus in these 10 years, the number was increased by 26,803. Why were there so many Chinese entering America at that time? I think the primary causes were the following:

First, American victory in the War of Independence brought about the independence of the American colonies. Politically, the British yoke was removed, and economically, the restrictions on the development of American productive forces were eliminated. The development of capitalism was thus assured. From 1846 to 1848, the United States was at war with Mexico and later annexed Kansas, California, and New Mexico. After this war of aggression against Mexico, the American bourgeoisie needed a huge labor force to exploit the West. On 24 January 1848, the discovery of gold in the Sacramento Valley of California spurred a westward rush. The gold rush, which stirred the whole country, was an important event in the history of U.S. capitalist development, and California was the source of all this excitement. Because of the scarcity of local labor, the U.S. capitalists had to import laborers in large numbers for their mining.

Secondly, after the exploitation of the gold mines in California, gold circulated throughout the American continent, as well as along the Asian shores of the Pacific Ocean, and helped expand international trade as well as domestic industry. In 1840, U.S. industry ranked fifth in the world; by 1860 it had risen to fourth place; and by 1894 it was on the top in the capitalist world. Industry stimulated commercial development, and there was a constant flow of U.S. commodities into the Chinese market. At the same time, Chinese people, living under feudal oppression and exploitation, were in dire misery. Some of them actively struggled for their existence by joining the antifeudalist and anticolonialist forces; others offered passive resistance by leaving their home villages to earn their living abroad. Thus a huge labor force was available for U.S. capitalist development.

Thirdly, after the Opium War, the Qing Government pursued a compromising foreign policy toward imperialism and did not forbid the U.S. capitalists from inveigling away, or simply plundering, their labor power. On 28 July 1868, the Qing Government signed the "Eight Additional Articles of the Sino-American Treaty," which foreigners call the "Burlingame Treaty."

Anson Burlingame was originally the U.S. representative in China during the American Civil War. Later, because of his assistance in suppressing the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Movement, he won the trust of the Qing Dynasty and was appointed to a high-ranking position and especially but in charge of China's negotiations with foreign countries. He represented the Qing Government in signing this treaty with Secretary of State Seward. The fifth article read: "If people want to go to any country, stay there, or become citizens of that country, they are free to do so. The Great Qing Empire and the Great United States will not forbid them." The American Government's purpose in signing this treaty was to recruit labor through diplomatic channels. This treaty was thus used as a talisman by the U.S. capitalists in openly plundering Chinese labor in every possible way. The number of Chinese people bound for America increased every day. According to the statistics of San Francisco customs, 14,990 Chinese people entered America in 1869. The statistics of the U.S. Immigration Commission and the Immigration Department also revealed that by 1887, the total number of Chinese entering the United States reached 39,579, and the San Francisco customs statistics showed 26,902. In 1880, the Chinese population in America had already reached 105,465.

II. Achievements of Chinese Labor in Exploiting America

(1) Railroad Building

Before the building of the transcontinental railroad, communication between the old states of the east and the new states along the Pacific Coast was very inconvenient. Traveling by sea was not only time consuming but also expensive. Traveling by land, however, called for the crossing of many high mountain ranges and swamps, and was therefore extremely toilsome. The principal means of communication by land was the Pony Express, used for passengers and mail. There were also covered wagons transporting goods in large convoys. The long trek was a long, exhausting experience for the immigrants. The problem of communications was not solved until the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869.^{3/}

The first railroads built were short lines. Anyone taking a long trip would have to change trains many times. In some instances, for a trip of 400 miles, the passengers had to change trains 11 times. They belonged to different companies or different syndicates, and there were many contradictions among them because of conflicts of interest. To improve transportation efficiency, a through trunk line from the east to west was necessary. Between 1862 and 1864, the U.S. Congress passed two Federal Laws concerning the construction of a transcontinental railroad. This railroad was to be formed of two lines; one was the Union Pacific line, beginning in Omaha and running westward as far as Ogden. It was built by the Union Pacific Company. The other was the Central Pacific line, beginning from Sacramento and running eastward to meet the Union Pacific line, built by the Central Pacific Company. The Union Pacific Compa.. c'red

Irish immigrants and former soldiers as railroad builders, and the Central Pacific Company hired Chinese.

The completion of the transcontinental railroad was the result of the joint efforts of white and Chinese workers. Through their efforts, the two lines finally joined on 10 May 1869 at Promontory Point (in Utah). The vast majority of the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad was undertaken by Chinese workers, and their achievements were outstanding. In 1876, the U.S. Congress organized a commission to study the conditions of Chinese workers in California, with a view to collecting data for an anti-Chinese movement. The chairman of that commission was Oliver P. Morton. He gathered together the persons concerned with the question, and one of them was Mr Frederic F. Law, former member of Congress, minister to China, and one of the early settlers in California.

Question: "I will ask the governor what proportion of the labor in constructing these railroads has been performed by the Chinese?"

Answer: "I should think that on the Central Pacific Railroad, from my knowledge of it, four-fifths of the labor for the grading was performed by the Chinese; that is, from here to Ogden."

Question: "Did they reclaim the swamplands, the tulelands?"

Answer: "In the building of levees, much the larger proportion is done by the Chinese, for two reasons: First, the labor is cheaper, and secondly, it is an unhealthy sort of work, because it is in malarial districts, and the Chinese seem to be constituted something like the Negroes; they are not affected by malaria as Anglo-Saxons are."

Question: "If Chinese had not come here, could white labor have been readily procured to construct this work you speak of?"

Answer: "It would have taken a much longer time. It would have been delayed."

From the above, we can see that even U.S. capitalists admitted that Chinese workers were more efficient than white workers. Yet they forced the Chinese to do what the white men were unwilling to do, gave the Chinese lowly jobs, and reduced their wages. Any job that was most arduous and most unhygienic was given to the Chinese, while the easy jobs were undertaken by white men. The Chinese workers generally received approximately \$30 a month and had to pay for their own board and lodging. White workers received \$45-50 a month with board and lodging provided by the company. In other words, their wages more than doubled those of the Chinese workers. According to what they said and what U.S. scholars have recorded, the Central Pacific Railroad hired 10,000 Chinese workers and 800 white men. This is incorrect. According to some old overseas Chinese, a total of 40,000-50,000 Chinese workers took part in the railroad construction, and no

fewer than 10,000 laid down their lives (due to illness or accidents) in the line of duty. There is quite a difference between the American and the Chinese estimates. Probably the American estimate referred to only a certain period while ours referred to the entire period of construction, including both temporary and permanent workers, or any Chinese who took part in the construction. The American foremen admitted that in recruiting Chinese workers, they only cared about the total number but not the individual names, and had no idea of the replacement of Chinese workers. The number of white workers--namely, 800--was also an exaggeration, because no matter how the people were replaced, the total could never be as high as 800. Therefore, the arduous task of constructing this 2,800-mile railroad was undertaken mainly by Chinese workers.

The rapid development of railroad construction had its influence on various quarters. It spurred immigration to the west and speeded up the growth of the steel industry and the development of agriculture. Following the completion of the railroad, thousands and tens of thousands of people settled close to the railroad track as pioneers. After the development, the cost of land in the west, left wasted for a long time, increased from \$2 to \$25-30 per acre.

The Central Pacific Railroad was built with Chinese workers' blood and sweat. The contribution of Chinese workers was the greatest, and yet the exploitation of them was most severe. The Central Pacific Railroad's construction cost more than \$90 million, but according to the estimate of a certain member of Congress, it actually cost \$22 million. Then who got the remaining \$60-70 million? Certainly, this amount got into the private purses of the company's executives. The capital of the railroad company was \$121 million, and the profit amounted to \$63 million. The profit rate was more than 50 percent. These benefits were divided mostly among the four bigwigs, namely, Stanford, Huntington, Croker, and Hopkins.

(2) Land Reclamation

Instances of the use of Chinese people for land reclamation in the United States are only too numerous. Let us take California, for example. First, because 48,790 Chinese people had already entered California in the 1870's, and the number there was larger than in any other state, they formed a mighty labor force for the development of California.

Production in California was the highest in America, and this was particularly true in the Sacramento River Valley, where the soil was most suitable for agricultural development. However, this was a flooded area, and that was why the local government and capitalists had to try every way to reclaim the swamplands, so that in addition to the prevention of floods in the swamplands, there could be suitable irrigation for the higher lands.^{5/}

The area of California, being 158,693 square miles, is nearly the same as that of France, but its population was small. In 1800, the population of the west was only 31,443. When land was plentiful and people were scarce, the U.S. capitalists certainly would not overlook the use of China's "cheap labor." What was the Chinese people's place in this large-scale reclamation? The readers are requested to refer to the statements made by some U.S. Government officials and capitalists.

When the chairman of the U.S. Congressional Committee called some witnesses for questionning, Solomon Heydenfeldt, formerly Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of California and counsel for a reclamation association called the Tide Land Reclamation Company, supplied the following answers:

Question: "It was considered very hazardous to undertake the reclamation of these lands. Right?"

Answer: "Very."

Question: "What labor has been used to do what?"

Answer: "Chinese labor."

Question: Could they get white labor to do that work?"

Answer: "I imagine not. I do not see where it could have been obtained. I do not think our white laborers would care to undertake it. They are generally in favor of undertaking something a good deal easier than that, and something that pays better."

Another witness was George D. Roberts, a prominent owner of such lands, who had been quite active in reclamation work. He testified as follows:

Question: "How much tule land has your company reclaimed?"

Answer" "The Tide Land Company proper started in with 120,000 acres. I suppose we have partially reclaimed 30,000 or 40,000 acres. We call the overflowed lands forming the delta of the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers tule lands, and also the land on the edges of the rivers farther up."

Question: "What do you mean by the reclamation of tule lands? What kind of work is it?"

Answer: "Building dikes, gates and ditches; preventing the overflow."

Question: What kind of labor have you been employing?"

Answer: "Generally Chinamen. The work is generally satisfactory."

Question: "Are those lands entirely waste? What is the cost after reclamation?"

Answer: "Before reclamation, it was entirely waste; overflowed by high tides and grown up with weeds. We nominally paid a dollar an acre to the State. After reclamation, it is worth from \$20 up to \$100 an acre, probably."

The testimonies of these two persons are on file and can be verified. The wealth created by the Chinese in California was great, but it was all owned by the U.S. capitalists. Brooks also admitted before the commission:

"I asked a former surveyor general of this State to estimate the increase in the value of the property of this State created by Chinese labor in the building of railroads and in reclaiming tule lands alone, and the amount he gave me is \$289.7. That is the wealth which a hundred thousand Chinese have added to California. It is wealth owned, held, and enjoyed by white men, and not Chinamen. The Chinamen do not carry it away with them; they could not even if they wished to do so." (See Seward, op. cit., part II, pp 30-36).

The book "California," published in 1939, described in these words how the Chinese people exploited the Sacramento delta region: "The rich delta region lying to the south is crisscrossed with dikes that hem in winding sloughs, sheltering the lush black-loam farmlands, often far below water level, from floods. It was settled in the early 1850's by disappointed gold seekers who squatted here to raise their own food. In the 1870's, the Chinese coolies who had built the Central Pacific Railroad were put to work reclaiming the delta region at low wages. With wheelbarrows, they built up the first levees. Gradually, the whole 425,000-acre region of tule marshes was reclaimed by an elaborate system of levees, drainage canals, and pumping plants. Today, the incalculably fertile black peat soil is irrigated by floodgates from the levees. ("California," compiled by the California State Works Project Administration, p 581). Because of Chinese labor in America, California became the wealthiest state. "Wearing rags and riding a rickety cart, they blazed the trails." The achievements of Chinese labor in America can never be erased.

(3) Mining

Most of the Chinese who came early were engaged in mining and suffered a great deal. A passage in an article described the working and living conditions of Chinese miners as follows: "The monthly wage for each person was about \$50-60, and a foreman got \$100 a month. They worked in the gold mines. The wages for those working in coal, silver, and copper mines were about the same. Some of these mines were deep in the mountains.

and the shafts were hundreds of feet deep, and people had to go through various layers of rock, including solidified lava, half molten rock, and aqueous rock, before they could reach the bottom. In case of fire, they would lose their lives. Some of the mines were by riversides, and people had to go down to the riverbeds to scoop up the sand and mud. If they were not good swimmers, or stayed underwater just a little too long, they might be drowned. Alas! Many Chinese miners died in those places. It is hard to figure out how much gold, silver, copper, iron, and coal they have produced for America! There were many mines, such as the Hu-ha-shi-lo and Oakland gold mines, the Sacramento copper mine and the Almaden quicksilver mine to the southwest of the Rocky Mountains; the Gold Creek Borax Mine, the Reno (a large district in Nevada) gold and silver mines, and the Yun-li-mo-ji metal mine of Nevada, to the east of the Rockies; the South Gold Mine and North Silver Mine, the Battle Mountain Gold and Silver Mine, the Yong-li-jia Silver Mine (Bo-li-xue), and the Gila Silver and Copper Mine (also in Nevada); the Ya-er-ma Coal Mine (in Evanston); and the Ogden Coal Mine, the Ye-gu-di coal and iron mines, and the Hua-cha-ji mechanized mine (all near Salt Lake City; the other mines without Chinese workers are not counted). Weren't these mineral resources obtained at the cost of Chinese lives? The wages were very low indeed. For example, a certain mine produced 2,000 tons of coal daily, and each ton cost \$7.17. The Chinese worker got only 63 cents (according to the version of a certain Chinese foreman named Liao). The wages in all the mines were about the same. In view of this, did the Chinese people ever let the Americans down? (An Indignant Chinese: "The Suffering of Our Compatriots," Chapter I).

In 1862, a commission was organized by the two houses of the California Legislature to investigate the performance of Chinese workers in the mining regions. One of the witnesses, named Henry K. W. Clark, pointed out that Chinese workers frequently worked in the worn out mines, where they were compelled to work for amounts for which white men would not work; and that if there were any diggings which were worth a white man's working, they were driven away from them. This was how he described the Chinese working conditions: "The work is done with a pick and spade, and consists of turning over large boulders, running tunnels in different directions, throwing out dirt and boulders, and saving the fine dirt. If it is in the proper season, they wash the dirt as they go along; if not, they keep it until the rainy season commences, at which time they take this dirt, throw it into the rockers, and wash it. It is work in which there is a great deal of exposure, they being compelled, in the washing season, to be constantly in the water, and in the warm season the weather is exceedingly hot. It is very severe work." (Seward, op. cit., pp 45-46).

There were more than 20,000 Chinese miners in California, and through the heaviest and most hazardous work they created tremendous wealth for the American capitalists. Yet they had to suffer various forms of oppression and exploitation from their mining bosses and the capitalists. On 4 May 1852, the California authorities passed an act providing that a license

tax of \$3 a month should be levied upon foreigners working in placer and quartz mining. This tax was raised to \$4 on 30 March 1853. On 13 May 1854, it was explained that this act was applicable to those who were not U.S. citizens or who had not declared their intention to become such. But the Chinese, alone of all foreigners, were not permitted to declare their intention to become citizens. Thus we can see that this law was made only to penalize the Chinese.

This harsh law exploited the Chinese not only to increase state revenue but also to provide an opportunity for the officials to fatten their own purses. Gibbon quoted this passage from NEVADA DAILY in his book: "This was a semilegal means of robbing the Chinese. Some tax collectors were law-abiding; but many of them abused their authority to extort the last cent from the poor and helpless Chinese. They deliberately filled in the wrong dates on the licenses, created trouble to get money from the terrified Chinese, or to fatten themselves through fraudulent means. Chinese people were the victims of this persecution and outrage, but nobody paid any attention to their grievances, and, according to law, they had no right of appeal. The court would not consider their appeal, anyway. Under these conditions, the Chinese in California suffered bitterly from misery and oppression." (Gibbon, "Chinese in America," p 236).

(4) Agricultural Labor

The completion of the transcontinental railroad and the rapid reclamation of wasteland in California provided favorable conditions for the development of agriculture. California is located on the Pacific shore, with a mild climate, plentiful rainfall, and fertile soil. Plants can grow easily; the mountains are covered with forests; and there are many rivers for irrigation. The land was suitable for barley, wheat, corn, cotton, sugarcane, hemp, and many kinds of fruit. When the California farmers could not find enough white workers, they would certainly not overlook the cheap Chinese labor on the market. Thus the Chinese workers who were formerly engaged in railroad building and land reclamation had to become agricultural workers. The U.S. capitalists hired Chinese workers because the latter could do more work than the white workers did, their wages were lower, and the quality of their work was better. Therefore, the Chinese workers were useful to them.

California produces a lot of grapes which can be made into port wine for export. The output of grapes in 1875 was enough for brewing 8 million gallons of port wine and 80,000 gallons of brandy. The production of liquor was higher than that of France, Germany, and Spain combined, and the amount of labor required can be imagined. The vineyards in Sonoma County regularly kept 500 Chinese workers, mainly for planting and picking grapes.

Fruits are plentiful in central and northern California, and oranges were the main export item. Since the planting of fruit trees yielded great profit and required little capital, fruit orchards grew rapidly, thus creating a greater demand for labor. According to incomplete statistics,

in San Francisco alone some 2,500 Chinese were hired to plant grapes, and another 2,200 of them were hired for picking and canning fruit. Most Chinese horticulturists knew agricultural techniques, and many of them knew the way to plant fruit trees, particularly the more advanced techniques of grafting. Sometimes they brought seeds from China and popularized the planting in America. For example, Chen Fang [7115 5364], a native of Guangzhou, transplanted litchies in Honolulu. The Chinese people's diligence did contribute to the increase of American agricultural products and the rise in the people's standard of living.

(5) Industrial and Service-Trade Labor

In the 1870's and 1880's, machine-tool industries were not yet fully developed in the west. In California, there was mainly light industry such as wool textiles, the making of jute bags, ropes, wooden boxes, furniture, candles, garments, brooms, and dynamite. Among them, the wool textile industry ranked first and accommodated over 1,000 Chinese workers. The next was jute textile, for which Chinese workers were mostly used. For example, the Pacific Jute Factory hired only 34 white men but 220 Chinese. The number of Chinese workers also exceeded that of white workers in other factories. In San Francisco, 1,500-2,000 Chinese were engaged in shoemaking; more than 1,000 in the manufacturing of slippers; more than 200 in hatmaking; some 3,300 in cigarmaking; and some 1,000 in tailoring, according to the statistics of 1876. Many Chinese also worked in other factories, such as glass factories, rubber factories, and leather factories.

Furthermore, wealthy American families generally hired Chinese for domestic work, particularly as cooks. According to an estimate of 1876, 5,000-6,000 Chinese worked in San Francisco families. If those in the entire state were taken into account, the number might reach 15,000. There were also more than 3,600 Chinese engaged in laundry work. Laundries were hard work, because they had to start at 6 o'clock in the morning and keep on working until 1 or 2 o'clock the next morning. This was how they toiled year after year. While supporting themselves, they were also serving the masses. Yet the state authorities had to exploit them. In May 1873, the California State Legislature passed a harsh law stipulating that "any person hired by a laundry or a laundry office, the owner or the agents of any laundry, or any person connected with this business is required by law to pay \$15 each quarter." Another law stipulated that "each laundry or laundry office not using horse-drawn vehicles should pay \$15 per quarter. The other payments are the same as before." It must be noted that American laundries having large capital and operating on a large scale could afford to use horse-drawn vehicles to collect or deliver laundry. They had to pay only \$3 per quarter. Chinese laundries with small capital and operating on a small scale had to use baskets and carrying poles for the same purposes. Yet they had to pay 5 times as much as was required of American laundries. Thus we can see that this law was passed only for the purpose of exploiting the Chinese." ("Fei Jin Shuo [7236 4391 6141--On Non-Prohibition"]

compiled by Wu Panzhao [0124 4149 3564] and translated by Chen Zhenxian [8115 2162 0341], p 57"). Ten years later, the situation became even worse for no valid reason. Most of the 800-900 Chinese laundries were built of wood, with frames attached for drying [the clothes] in the sun. On the pretext of precaution against fire, the authorities ordered that these houses must be rebuilt of brick and tile and with metal gates, and that all the sunning stages built of bamboo or wood must be demolished, failing which the offenders would be arrested and fined. This caused quite a stir and loss to the Chinese in the laundry business.

III. The Sharpening of American Class Contradictions and the Anti-Chinese Movement

From the 1840's to the 1850's, the United States was vigorously developing the west and in urgent need of labor. Foreign labor was also needed, particularly after the discovery of gold in California. The number of foreign immigrants therefore increased each year. From 1840 to 1850 there were 1,713,251 immigrants, and from 1850 to 1860 the number increased to 2,598,214, of whom 34,933 were Chinese. The arrival of Chinese provided a great deal of cheap labor.

In the 1840's, apart from a small number who had friends or relatives to pay for their passage, most Chinese had their passage paid by the recruiting brokers and had to repay their debts, with interest, through deductions from their monthly wages after they got work there. The interest rate was exorbitant. Generally, when they borrowed \$40, they later had to repay \$100 or even more. They had to clear up their debts before they could become a free laborer. They seemed to have a better lot than that of "indentured laborers" or "pigs," although essentially they were about the same. In the 1850's, after the Opium War, the United States established "recruiting centers" in the treaty ports in China, or dispatched their so-called brokers from the American firms in China to entice, force, or deceive the able-bodied Chinese, called "pigs" or "indentured laborers" for want of a better name, onto American ships bound for America. According to relevant records, between 1852 and 1858, when the "coolie trade" came to Shantou from Macao, American ships transported only 40,000 "coolies."^{6/} In fact, Shantou was not the only port for "coolie trade," because there were Huangpu, Xiamen, Hong Kong, Macao, and Shanghai for the same trade. By 1860, this coolie transportation was monopolized by the American Clipper ships. Once aboard ship, the Chinese workers who had been kidnapped or inveigled onto the ship were entirely at the mercy of the brokers. In collusion with the captain of the ship, these brokers usually shut the Chinese workers in steerage, with poor ventilation and polluted air, and let them suffer hunger, disease, or other mental tortures. Many of them died on the way. In November 1854, there was a report on a large number of deaths aboard the steamship "Libertad." ("Random Chats About Recent Events," in NEWS FAR AND NEAR, No 11). The Chinese victims of this brutal oppression, with their revolutionary tradition, sometimes bravely resisted. In 1857,

Engels pointed out in his "Persia and China": "Even those coolies going abroad (referring to the Chinese workers--author) carried out their resistance as though preplanned, and seized the ship. They chose to go down with the ship to the bottom of the sea or die in flames aboard it, instead of surrendering." In 1851 and 1858, there were thrilling accounts of Chinese resistance aboard American ships and of their burning the ships and dying among the bandits (Details given in Yen Zhongping's [0917 0022 1627] "Monstrous Crimes in Floating Hells," carried in GUANGMING RIBAO, 21 Sept 1957). This was how a 19th century westernized expert, Rong Hong [1369 7031], described what he had seen or heard: "After being lured aboard, they realized that they had been tricked. The cruel treatment further enraged them. When the ship sailed onto the ocean, where nothing else was in sight, they started a riot. They were prepared to commit suicide by jumping overboard if they could not win. However, if they succeeded through their numerical superiority, they would kill all the "pig" traders and the entire crew and throw their dead bodies overboard to appease their rage. Since there would be nobody at the wheel, they would entrust their fate to heaven and let the ship drift." ("Prevalence of Western Learning," p 114).

The situation of Chinese workers in America became even worse in the 1860's, as the anti-Chinese movement gathered momentum. This movement was the outcome of every-sharpening contradictions in the American society.

After the 1840's, America was in the process of transition from an agricultural to an industrial country. The value of American industrial output had increased nearly fourfold from 1840 to 1860. From 1860 to 1870, the number of industrial organizations increased by 8 percent, and total output value doubled. The number of factory workers also increased from 1,311,000 to 2,054,000. Huge areas of public lands became the private property of the companies which had carried out speculations in railroads and mines. This inevitably led to the birth of the most despicable financial syndicates. In view of the capitalist form of centralized operation in the late 19th century, the development of free competition into the monopoly system was increasingly evident. In this process, class contradictions became more acute and the struggles of the capitalists or the syndicates to annex one another became more severe. The oppression against the working class also became more severe, and, naturally, imported labor had to bear the brunt.

Cycles of economic crises were inevitable in the course of capitalist development. In the late 19th century, American capitalist development was the fastest, and several economic crises occurred in quick succession. Several serious economic crises occurred in 1854, 1857, 1860, and 1873. While trying to shift the crises onto the people, the American capitalists and their monopoly syndicates also tried to shift the hatred--shown by the exploited classes, particularly the working class, toward the bourgeoisie--onto the immigrants so as to undermine the solidarity of the working class. The immigrants, serving as a reserve labor force, were used as

cheap labor by the capitalists, because these immigrants had to find some means of subsistence. When the local workers went on strike as a means of struggle, the capitalists used the laborers from abroad to replace them, and even took advantage of this opportunity to incite antagonism against alien labor.

Through their reactionary organizations and reactionary propaganda, the American bourgeoisie attributed unemployment and the low standard of living of the American workers—which were actually created by the capitalist crises—to the immigrants, particularly the Chinese immigrants. They said that American workers could not compete with the foreigners, because the foreigners ate the most unwholesome food, were dressed in dirty rags, and were simply unfit for the ranks of American laborers or American technicians, and so on and so forth.

Part of the white workers from abroad, such as the Irish and the Germans, carried out united struggles through their organized labor unions and finally achieved some form of political force. They joined the American workers in the labor movement, and some of them even acquired American citizenship. Since the Chinese had no right to acquire American citizenship, and because of their different racial origin, their language problem, their poor organizing power, and their weak motherland, they could not join the white men's unions. The capitalists were therefore even more reckless in oppressing them. Furthermore, since the Chinese belong to a colored race, it was even easier for the capitalists to encourage racial prejudice and practice racial oppression. Racism is essentially a class problem, and racial discrimination against Chinese workers by the American capitalists was actually a form of class oppression.

At that time there were two different groups with different attitudes toward Chinese workers. One was progressive, believing that being in opposition to Chinese workers was a way of splitting the working class, and that this could only serve the employers' interests. Instead of shouting "yellow peril," the American workers must, in their opinion, organize the Chinese workers as a precaution against any attempt on the part of the employers to use them as an excuse to lower the pay scale. The other group was reactionary and more powerful, and included those leaders who had been won over, aristocratic-minded workers, and those with unhealthy racial concepts. These people held that Chinese labor in America was a "big calamity which will engender poverty, with misery and crime in its wake, and which must be prohibited." Under the manipulation of opportunists, the American Workingmen's Party even urged the government to abolish the Burlingame Treaty, signed in 1868 to permit free Chinese immigration to America, and to formulate a new treaty to forbid Chinese entry.

Dennis Kearney, an Irish worker, was originally a profiteering merchant and had once applied for membership in the American Workingmen's Party.

His application was rejected because of his bourgeois stand. In August 1877, he gathered together some undesirable elements among the workers and organized a labor union of all trades and professions in San Francisco. Several months later, he formed the California Workingmen's Party, of which he called himself the chairman. Full of racial hatred against the Chinese, he shouted: "We suggest that all our strength be used, and with the utmost speed, to eradicate cheap Chinese labor in the country, because it most seriously jeopardizes labor's position and increases the capital's strength." Kearney's party went everywhere to recruit members with various tactics, including intimidation, and raised the slogan "The Chinese Must Go!" Taking advantage of the workers' fear of losing their jobs, he instigated them to discriminate against the Chinese instead of hating the capitalists. For a while, many workers joined this party, and some so-called socialist members (of course, these were opportunists) were among them. They set up branches in various districts and held meetings on the sandy beach every Sunday evening, thus getting the name "Sandlots." Kearney often brought his musclemen everywhere to coerce and persecute the Chinese, and any worker daring to oppose him was attacked.

This worker aristocrat, whose fortune rose with the anti-Chinese movement, was opposed by some people with a sense of justice. A labor leader of the east, named Caleb Tilley once wrote to the Workingmen's Party of California, criticizing them in these words: "Some men were made tramps not by the Chinese but by a more powerful enemy, an enemy that has no heart, no soul, that never hears your dying groans: capital." Many members of the Workingmen's Party denounced Kearny for his high-handedness and rebellious activities, and pointed out that his quest for power had led to a split in the Workingmen's Party of California. Kearney's reactionary features were finally exposed and discredited, and the Workingmen's Party of California gradually faded away. (See Chinese version of Ponter's "History of Labor Movement in America," Vol 1, pp 715-723).

Meanwhile, the Knights of Labor, manipulated by opportunists, also took a wrong attitude toward the question of Chinese workers. The Knights of Labor was formed in 1869. At first, only tailors were eligible for membership, but it was later expanded to include all workers. The Knights had some success in the labor movement at first, but in 1881 they were led astray by some opportunists. In 1881, Terence Vincent Powderly was elected president. He was an opportunist and even betrayed the general strike in 1886 for an 8-hour day. Soon after he became president, it was stipulated that no Asiatics were eligible for membership. He even held that Asiatics were unfit to live in America. Some spokesmen of the Knights of Labor made their reactionary and chauvinistic statements in Congress and firmly advocated the expulsion of the Chinese people. A leader of the Knights even bragged that the Knights played an important role in passing the anti-Chinese law in 1882.

In his inaugural address to the 1885 General Assembly, he mentioned the massacre of Chinese people by his members in Rock Spring, Wyoming. Although admitting that "this act of inhumanity and butchery is inexcusable," he went on to blame the Chinese and those who desired to employ them, saying: "Exasperated at the success with which the Chinese evaded the law...the white workers became desperate and wreaked a terrible revenge upon the Chinese." Thus Powderly and the upper-level elements not only failed to condemn the terrorists but also attacked the Chinese workers as though the Chinese had enraged the white workers and therefore had gotten killed. However, the Rock Spring incident aroused the indignation of some Knights, and they came out in many places to condemn the massacre and those who had condoned it. More and more people protested against the policy of mistreating the Chinese. Some of those who took a just stand pointed out that "the first and basic principle of the organization was the obliteration of all lines of distinction in creed, color, or nationality," and even held that the only remedy for the problem created by the use of Chinese by employers to cut the wages of other workers was to organize the Chinese so that, once organized, the Chinese would make valuable contributions to the American labor movement. Timothy Quinn, a labor leader of District Assembly 49 of New York, organized two groups of Chinese workers in New York and made great efforts to secure charters for them as regular local assemblies. However, because of the opposition by the General Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor, the charters were not granted. The chauvinism leaders of the Knights of Labor caused serious damage to the unity of the working class in the labor movement. (See Foner, op. cit., Vol 2, pp 65-68).

To promote a widespread anti-Chinese movement, the American bourgeoisie used some politicians, hooligans, worker aristocrats, and reactionary intellectuals to make personal attacks on the Chinese by creating numerous unfounded rumors and slanders against the overseas Chinese as an excuse for their anti-Chinese atrocities. The theory behind their anti-Chinese campaign was so full of lame arguments that it would be beneath our dignity to refute them. However, by listing these arguments and then analyzing them, we can have a glimpse of the extent of the American bourgeoisie's stupidity and the barbarous methods it used.

Exponents of the anti-Chinese campaign described Chinese nationals as being morally degenerate, addicted to gambling, fond of patronizing houses of ill repute, and opium smokers. This was sheer slander. In fact, prostitution was already rife in bourgeois society. In the 19th century, prostitution had become a special commercial venture in California long before the arrival of any Chinese. Brothels existed all over the city and not prohibited by the government. These are well-known facts.

The bad habit of gambling was quite popular in America. The Chinese had to work more than 10 hours each day; how could they still have any energy left for gambling? There were very few Chinese gamblers.

As for the charge of opium smoking, condemnation should be first directed against the British and American bandits who transported opium into China for profit. The American authorities should share this responsibility. Before a Congressional committee, Colton testified: "I have never had occasion to find fault with them (the Chinese people). They have always been prompt and faithful in carrying out their engagements. I think that you can consider them an intellectual people, a thinking people. They are not people to fly kites and make a great fuss, but they go along steadily and persistently, and they are industrious and frugal. I never saw a drunken Chinaman in my life. They are always themselves; they do not go on any sprees. I have heard of their smoking opium, but out of 3,000 or 4,000 on the road, there are no opium smokers. There is no trouble with them; they are always on hand in the morning; they do a full day's work; and they are certainly the most clean laborers we have." (Seward, op. cit., p 212).

The anti-Chinese champions charged that Chinese could never be assimilated as Americans, because they would never adopt the American way of life or show the slightest interest in America. John F. Swift, one of the Congressional committee members from California, said: "They cannot assimilate, so the next generation, and the one after, and all the generations will be equally alien and ignorant, without speaking of the present men, the individuals who happen to make up this community now, so that actually if we could see 100 or 500 years from now, we should find the same uneducated class of Chinamen." (Ibid, p 250).

These attacks on overseas Chinese were entirely unjustified. Every nation has its own traits, habits, or customs which cannot be imposed on others. The impossibility for the Chinese to raise their standard of living was entirely attributable to the exploitation by American capitalists. The American authorities carried out many anti-Chinese measures to prohibit Chinese from acquiring American citizenship, and tried every possible way to persecute the overseas Chinese. They did not want Chinese to become American citizens, and yet they made the countercharge that the Chinese could not be assimilated. Their purpose was only to disseminate racism and the anti-Chinese sentiments to serve their anti-Chinese movement.

The anti-Chinese champions also claimed that the Chinese had seized every opportunity to rush into America only because of their fast-increasing population, their low wages, and their difficult living conditions, and that if this situation continued, America would become a Chinese province and the United States would be Mongolianized. This kind of attack is obviously unreasonable, particularly because the sources of the American population were quite complex, and most people came from the European countries. The following statistics on the immigrants in California can serve as an illustration:

	1850	1860	1870	1880
White people	91,635	323,177	499,424	900,000
Colored people	962	21,884	11,513	11,513
Chinese		34,933	49,310	75,000
Total	92,597	379,994	560,247	986,513

If these figures are correct, then the ratio of Chinese to other people were: 1860, about one Chinese in every 11 immigrants; 1870, about one Chinese in every 11 immigrants; and 1880, about one Chinese in every 13 immigrants. If we compare the number of Chinese immigrants with that of white immigrants, then the number of white immigrants was more than 10 times that of the Chinese in 1860, and more than 20 times that of the Chinese in 1880. Thus the fallacy of "Mongolianization" is evident from the statistics of the California Immigration Department.

The charge that overseas Chinese were useless to America--an attempt to obliterate Chinese contributions to the development of America--is even more ridiculous. If there were no Chinese to build the Central Pacific Railroad, California would not have its prosperity today. Some people also attacked the Chinese for remitting money to China instead of spending it in America; this reason sounded plausible, but it was not valid after all. According to a report of the California Legislative Commission in 1862, there were 48,391 Chinese in California, of whom about 30,000 were engaged in mining, with an estimated total annual income of \$15 million. After deducting various taxes (such as income tax, miners' tax, property tax, and so forth) and paying for their clothing, food, lodging, transportation, and other expenses, which totaled \$14 million, only 10 percent of their total income could be at their personal disposal; the rest was all spent locally. The money saved by the Chinese from their expenditures on food and clothing was used to support themselves and their dependents in China. Whatever they saved had come from their sweat and blood, and they should have been free to spend it any way they liked.

The anti-chinese champions instigated the masses against the Chinese by alleging that the Chinese had set up their own government in California and did not recognize the American legal system. For example, Pixley spouted a lot of empty rhetoric before the Congressional committee saying: "I have no doubt that I shall be able to prove that there are secret tribunals exercising a criminal and civil jurisdiction, an 'imperium in imperio'; that they have tribunals and forced penalties, even to the extent that property and life bear enforcement. We think we shall be able

to show, by proper testimony, that it is a common practice for them secretly to advertise payment of money for the assassination of informers and enemies, and that their institution is so secret and so subtle and so close as to have defied the scrutiny of detective police or the investigation of the courts." (Ibid, pp 223-224). The allegation that the Chinese had set up their own private tribunals was groundless. A tribunal must have a name, a location and a group in charge of it. But he could not supply any of these things. Thus we can see that what he said was pure fabrication.

Failing to present any evidence, he attacked the Six Companies organized by the Chinese, saying that these companies undertook contract labor and were independent organizations. Concerning the Six Companies, Li Gui [2621 0964], who attended the International Exhibition held in America in 1876, gave a fairly detailed account, as follows:

"San Francisco, in the American State of California, was called Gold Mountain by Chinese because it produced gold. Later, Australia beyond the South Sea also produced gold and was also called Gold Mountain. Thus came the difference between new and old. San Francisco is called Old Gold Mountain and is a big city near a large American bay in the west. There were 160,000 Chinese, male and female, in America; about 40,000 of them stayed in San Francisco, and about 100,000 in other California cities. The rest were scattered on the mainland. There were Six Companies for the Guangdong people in San Francisco, namely, the Sanyi [Three Counties] Company (for Nanhai, Panyu, and Shunde, with Sanshui, Qingyuan, and Huaxian affiliated), with about 11,000 members; the Yanghe [7122 0735] Company (for Xiangshan [now Zhongshan], Dongguan, Zhengcheng, with Boluo affiliated) with about 15,000 members; the Gangzhou (for Xinhui, with Heshan and Sihua affiliated), with about 15,000 members; the Ningyang [1337 7122] Company (for Xinning but not including the Yu [0151] families), with 75,000 members; the Hehe [0678 0735] Company (for the Yu families of Xinning, and for Kaiping and Enping counties), with about 35,000 members; and the Renhe Company (for Xinan, Guishan [2981 0810], and Jisayinzhou [0857 2019 1558]), with about 4,000 members. The number of people from other provinces, people of religious circles, and actors totaled about 2,000, and the number of women was about 6,000.... By the first and second year (1851-1852) of the reign of Xianfeng, when the number of the people was steadily increasing, three companies had been formed—namely, Sanyi, Yanghe, and Siyi (Xinhui, Xinning, Enping, and Kaiping). In the third year (1853), the Xinning section of Xiyi Company became an independent company known as Ningyang, and the Xinan, originally included in Yanghe, became the Renhe Company. In the first year of Tongzhi (1862), the Yu's of Xinning combined with Enping and Kaiping of Siyi to form the Hehe Company, while Siyi changed its name to Gangzhou. These are now the Six Companies. Capable persons were elected president,... each serving a term of 1 year, and the competent ones were eligible for a second term. The regulations generally provided that new Chinese arrivals should be met at the wharf and brought

to the companies. There was no registration fee. When a person returned to China, he had to report his intended departure to the company concerned. If he was not found to be in debt, the company would buy his passage for him and consider taking his membership fees in amounts of \$5 or \$10. If the person happened to be old, poor, or sick, no fee would be collected, and the company would raise money by soliciting donations for his passage. If people were unwilling to join the companies, and there were very few of these people, they were perfectly free to do as they pleased. The membership fees collected were used to pay the rent, wages, and food of workers, and any remaining funds went into the charity chest. If any disputes arose among their countrymen over minor matters, the company concerned would act as mediator so that everyone could live in peace. These were the only jobs done by the Six Companies, which had no official position, were always short of funds, and could not do much. Therefore, everything was under the jurisdiction of the local government." (Li Gui (Xiaochi [Small Lake]): "Random Notes on the Conditions of Chinese Residing in America" in "Notes on a Round-the-World Trip," Vol 3, pp 28-29).

The above is quite a precise description of the nature, changes, and functions of the Six Companies. As to the order of their founding, there has been further elucidation: "First, it was Gangzhou Company, followed by Sanyu and then Siyi, all inaugurated in 1851. Next came the organization of Yanghe and Renhe companies in 1852. Ningyang Company was formed in 1854, followed by Hehe Company in 1862. These are the Six Companies, collectively called the General Chinese Company." ("Yearbook of Overseas Chinese in America," compiled by Chen Wennan [7115 3080 0589], p 362. Note: Seven companies are mentioned above. In 1862, Gangzhou Company was merged with Siyi Company, so there were only six companies.) The Six Companies were district associations, with their presidents elected by the overseas Chinese. They were not involved in political activities and were under the jurisdiction of the local government. The Americans called them Six Companies and permitted them to stay on. These companies were purely overseas Chinese organizations formed for the purpose of mutual assistance, particularly in legal and moral spheres.

After his investigations of the Six Companies, Gibbon advanced his fairly objective opinion: "As to the Six Companies and the power they wield, great misapprehensions prevail in the minds of the people. It is the custom of the Chinese in China, when any considerable number immigrate from one city to another, to come together and form a mutual aid society, a guild. The officers are elected and hold office for a specified length of time. Voluntary subscriptions are raised and voluntary taxes imposed for the purpose of providing a hall, or quarters for the meetings of the guild. Generally a temple or shrine of worship, dedicated to the particular divinities of the clan, is selected in connection with the hall. The hall becomes the rendezvous of the members

of the association. Disputes and differences among themselves are generally compromised and settled according to the advice of the officers and influential members, without resort to magistrates. Membership is entirely voluntary, and may be severed at the will of the individual. Of such character are the several Chinese associations in California, now known as the Six Companies. Each company represents a certain district in China, and claims as members all the Chinese from that district. There are no formal rites or ceremonies of admission. No admission fee is charged. No certificates of membership are issued. The name, age, and native place of each immigrant is obtained, immediately upon the arrival of the steamer, by the officers of the several companies, and the name thus obtained is at once enrolled in the books of the company representing the district from whence he came." (Seward, op. cit., pp 228-230). The Congressional committee members from California once called together the responsible persons of the Six Companies for questioning. They declared that the company personnel consisted of the presidents, accountants, and cooks, and that the funds were donated by the Chinese merchants. The presidents were elected for a term of 1 year and were eligible to serve a second term. The merchants were members of the companies, but not all members were merchants. The monthly salary of the presidents was \$80 each, and their duties were mainly to help the newly arrived Chinese, who had language problems, and to take care of those Chinese who were sick or unable to work.

The above facts prove that the Six Companies were essentially social welfare or mutual aid organizations of a sort, and the presidents were elected in a democratic way. The funds were from voluntary donations, and their function was to help Chinese people in difficulty. They were law-abiding and not engaged in any clandestine activities. They only helped maintain social order in America. The anti-Chinese agitators deliberately circulated rumors to the effect that the Six Companies were secret organizations, autonomous governments, or an "imperium in imperio" which was beyond the American legal jurisdiction, because these agitators wanted to incite the hostility of the government and a section of the community against the Chinese as a means of serving their despicable anti-Chinese movement.

Because of the incitement of these anti-Chinese elements, incidents of persecution against the Chinese became widespread; instead of being limited to Chinese workers, the persecution was directed to all Chinese as a whole. Let me cite a few instances.

On 2 September 1885, the residences of some Chinese workers were suddenly raided by a group of white men who looted, destroyed, and burned the houses, resulting in the death of 28 Chinese and serious injuries to 15, in addition to a total property damage of \$150,000. (See Wang Yongni [3769 0737 7206], "Diary of the Western Studio," p 32; and Dulles, "China and America," p 89).

There were also instances of running all the Chinese out of town and taking the opportunity to loot and destroy. In 1885, hundreds of Chinese in Yuba City were forced to move to Ping-lun. The tragedy was described as follows: "...Suddenly on 3 November, a foreigner named Guan-ju-xue-di-mier appeared with 800-900 armed gangsters and ordered the Chinese to leave town on the same day. For each store owned by the Chinese, only two persons were permitted to remain behind to move the merchandise, and the moving had to be completed by 4 o'clock on 6 November. Then anything left was to be burned, as he said. The gangsters had arranged for a train to come to Yuba City on that day (3 November) and said the train would carry the Chinese, free of charge, to Ping-lun, where they had to find their own livelihood. At that time, the terrified Chinese, male and female, had to care for their own lives. They boarded the train hurriedly, while some were dragged onto the train by the gangsters. Most of the belongings they carried, including money and clothing, were robbed by the gangsters, who were then like tigers chasing a flock of sheep and were free to act as they pleased. After the train had barely gone 8 miles (which should probably be translated as "11"—author), the gangsters forced all the Chinese off the train. It was already 5 o'clock in the early evening, and there was a heavy rain when the people left the train. They were soaking wet, hungry, and cold, and their wailings could be heard far away. Yet 50-60 mounted and armed gangsters herded them forward and did not permit them to even look backward. Anyone who did not walk fast enough was whipped, and even the sick ones were not permitted any rest. Their misery was beyond description. When they had walked quite a long distance, the mounted gangsters left and there was no more prodding from them. Yet the Chinese still about 100 miles from Ping-lun, and it was already dark. Since they were almost exhausted after the long trek, they could only lie along the roadside. Some of them, who happened to have some money left, stopped a passing train and got aboard, but those with no money had to stay where they were. Finally, when the Chinese in Ping-lun heard of this, they chipped in to charter a train to pick up those who were stranded on the way and to carry them to Ping-lun. On 5 November, news was received from Yuba City to the effect that all the Chinese stores and the remaining merchandise had been almost completely burned."⁷

In April 1887, four white men armed with rifles murdered 34 Chinese on the bank of the Snake River in northern Oregon and took away \$60,000. The murderers all went scot-free. Finally, one of the four made a deathbed confession saying that what he had done that day was most atrocious. (See "On Non-Prohibition," p 52).

After the Rock Spring Massacre, the California legislative committee maintained that this anti-Chinese act was unavoidable. It issued a statement saying: "For 30 years China has dumped upon our shores all its refuse... All the incapable, the idiotic, the unfortunate, the criminal, the diseased, the vicious, the outcasts, have remained with us;...the mean the most degraded slaves upon earth;...the women slaves and prostitutes;...the children the product of the most promiscuous miscegenation

on earth." (Dulles, "China and America," p 90). With shameless lies and vulgar phrases, the American bourgeoisie attempted to ship up an anti-Chinese wave as a means of national oppression or class oppression. From this we can see that the anti-Chinese movement was condoned by the U.S. authorities.

In 1876, a Congressional committee was formed to study the Chinese question, and Senator Oliver Morton was appointed chairman. The result was a derogatory report based on anti-Chinese materials. With their deep prejudice against the Chinese, and at the bidding of the bourgeoisie, the committee members advocated the restriction of Chinese entry. At that time, Rong Hong, who was dispatched by our country to America as an envoy, said: "At that time, a senator named Blaine was most excited. He was the first to propose that something be done against the Chinese. He might have nothing in particular against the Chinese; he did this only because of his dream of becoming president and his hope of winning popularity among the labor unions in order to obtain more labor votes along the Pacific Coast. After he made his proposal, American racial prejudice and hostility against the Chinese intensified." ("The Prevalance of Western Learning," Chapter 18).

In 1879, acting in accordance with the investigation report by the committee in 1876, the U.S. Congress passed a law restricting the number of Chinese who could enter California. President Hayes was then afraid of Chinese retaliation against the Americans in China and temporarily withheld approval. In the meantime, he dispatched a delegation to China to demand a revision of the 1868 treaty. On 17 January 1880, both parties signed four Articles for the Sino-American Treaty. The delegation knew the Chinese diplomats' mentality of fawning on foreign powers and took advantage of their ignorance of English. By deceptive means, they worded the clauses in such a way that their side had everything to gain and nothing to lose. There were many discrepancies between the Chinese and English versions. For instance, one of the clauses in Chinese read: "Great Qing permits Great America to regulate or limit the number, but not to prohibit such going." However, the English version read: "The Government of China agrees that the Government of the United States may regulate, limit, or suspend such coming or residence, but may not absolutely prohibit it." The Chinese version did not contain the word "suspend," which had obviously been privately added by the U.S. delegation. The Chinese version contained only "not to prohibit such going," but in the English version, the privately added "suspend" was used as a substitute for "prohibit," because there was no indication of the duration of the suspension. Because the word "suspend" implies prohibition, therefore, the words "but may not absolutely prohibit it" were used, and the word "absolutely" did not appear in the Chinese version. This means that prohibition was necessary, even though not absolutely so. Subsequently, the U.S. Government took full advantage of this clause, which was advantageous to itself, in formulating all its anti-Chinese policies. If any part of the treaty were disadvantageous, it arbitrarily repudiated it or simply ignored it.

In 1882, the U.S. Congress passed a law suspending Chinese entry, to be effective for 20 years. It was later reduced to 10 years.

From 1882 to 1905, the U.S. Federal Government and State authorities formulated many legal documents for the strict prohibition of Chinese entry. Every year, if the same laws were not renewed, new ones would be passed. The Chinese in America were continually persecuted; conversely, Americans in China could throw their weight around, and yet they received the Qing Government's protection. In 1888, U.S. President Cleveland asked the Qing Government to sign a treaty, to be valid for 20 years, prohibiting Chinese workers from going to America. The Qing Government was aware of the oppression against overseas Chinese in America, but signed it nevertheless.

Pressured by mass indignation, the Qing Government many times protested against the various anti-Chinese measures, but well aware of China's predicament, [the U.S. Government] either replied with promises of "careful consideration," or simply ignored them. In 1892 and 1893, the U.S. Congress time and again extended the period of prohibition of Chinese entry by 10 years, while in the meantime there was no end to the variety of anti-Chinese measures. Everyone intending to go to America was forced to change his mind, and even those who were already there had no desire to stay any longer. Finally, the Qing Government was forced to agree to prohibit Chinese workers from going to America. After the conclusion of the so-called "Treaty to Prohibit Chinese Workers From Coming to American and To Protect Chinese Already Residing in America" on 11 March 1894, Chinese workers were gradually expelled from U.S. territory. The purpose of this treaty was obviously to prohibit Chinese entry, although it pretended to protect Chinese residents in America. The so-called method of protection was only a routine registration, so that it would be more convenient to restrict the Chinese whenever there was a change of policy. The words "the same most favored treatment as granted to all foreigners" was a big lie. The fact was that, despite all the ill treatment suffered by the Chinese in America, the U.S. Government still secretly formulated regulations to oppress the Chinese so that the Chinese could not live in peace and could never expect the same treatment as given to other nationals. There could not be any favored treatment to speak of. The third Article read: "It is necessary to observe the regulations formulated after consideration by the U.S. Government at any time"; this meant that the U.S. Government had a legal basis for enacting any harsh rules against the Chinese. (See "Collection of Chinese-Foreign Treaties," compiled by Wang Yuebo [7806 2588 3134] and others, p 133).

Speaking of the persecution of Chinese immigrants in America, U.S. scholar A. Whitney Griswold had to candidly point out: "As it happened, China was too weak, too preoccupied with her European exploiters, to make her protests felt through the ordinary channels of diplomacy. For this reason, the experience with Chinese immigrants was of comparatively slight

diplomatic significance. The United States could, and did, ignore China's wishes with impunity. It violated existing treaties and dictated others in an overbearing manner. When China balked at the harsh terms demanded by the State Department, Congress dispensed with treaty sanctions altogether and enacted laws that were even harsher. Scant allowance was made, either in California or in Washington, for the sensibilities of a proud and friendly people. The persecution of Chinese subjects in the United States was winked at by the courts and, in effect, condoned by the federal government. (A. Whitney Griswold, "The Far Eastern Policy of the United States," pp 335-337).

IV. Conclusion

In the late 19th century, Chinese laborers braved every danger in crossing the ocean and arrived in America to take part in exploiting the west--in roadbuilding, mining, and land reclamation. With their wisdom, ability, and diligence, they achieved outstanding successes, and their pioneering formed a brilliant page in the history of friendly cooperation between the Chinese and American people. However, after using them to serve their purpose of amassing fortune, the American capitalists turned around and persecuted them. The American bourgeoisie tried every way to discount the achievement of the Chinese workers and called their manual labor "coolie labor." While obviously trying to lower their pay, they still claimed that it was only cheap labor and used it as a pretext for their exploitation. The American capitalists could not be ignorant of the Chinese workers' achievements, because they certainly knew very well how much money had gone into their purses every year. Yet the nature of their exploitation can never be changed. Even the recognition of the superiority of Chinese workers could not deter them from intensifying their exploitation.

The U.S. Government's policy toward the overseas Chinese was predicated on the interests of the entire bourgeoisie. In 1858, the California legislature passed a law prohibiting Chinese entry. This law was vetoed by the federal legislature (as published) on the grounds that it was not consistent with the spirit of the Constitution. The fact was that the Central Pacific Railroad just at that time needed Chinese workers, while the bourgeoisie needed a combination of "cheap labor," "free land," and huge capital funds for the development of industry. Therefore, in 1868, Secretary of State Seward concluded with the Qing Government the "Additional Eight Articles of the Sino-American Treaty," in which it was stipulated that "the people of both countries are now free to exchange visits, to travel, to trade, and to become permanent residents." This was the way to recruit Chinese workers. This treaty reflected the interests of the whole, instead of a part, of the bourgeoisie, proceeding from the United States' interests instead of any regional interests.

Some people may ask: Since the Chinese workers were of great value to America, why would they be persecuted? This question must be studied from

the class point of view and in an historical context. First, in 1869 the Central Pacific Railroad had been completed, the gold mines were exhausted, the exploitation of the west was virtually completed, and many people were out of jobs. At the same time, huge numbers of white men had moved to the west. Naturally, many Chinese workers were unemployed, and the white men too had difficulty in finding jobs. Therefore the American capitalists had no further use of Chinese workers and so simply kicked them aside. Secondly, some capitalists, in the quest for greater profits, produced blindly with their new machinery, resulting in periodic overproduction. The broad masses, as victims of exploitation, lived in hardship, and their purchasing power was weak. The surplus products could not be disposed of in the home market, while competition was so keen in the world market that the exported goods could not be very profitable. The economic crisis that resulted from overproduction in 1860 and 1873 forced many factories to close down, and many people were out of jobs in America. With the surplus of labor, the persecution against the Chinese escalated. Again, because of the general depression, the capitalists had to reduce their production costs, including wages. This further sharpened the class contradictions, and waves of strikes ensued. The capitalists now had to use the Chinese as a scapegoat and tried in every way to disrupt the unity between Chinese and white workers. They first hired Chinese workers to replace the white strikers, but when the Chinese saw through their trick and refused to serve as their tool, they were bent on spreading anti-Chinese sentiments by mobilizing their lackeys and using all the propaganda facilities at their disposal to circulate derogatory rumors against the Chinese workers, alleging that "Chinese workers have displaced white workers and will lower the standard of living for American workers to a diet of 'rice and ratmeat.'" They also directed their agents to form anti-Chinese organizations, such as the "Anti-Chinese Club," the "People's Protection Alliance," and the "League of Deliverance" along the Pacific Coast for persecution of the Chinese. Their purpose was to undermine the unity of the working class, create hostility between Chinese and white workers, divert class struggle from the real goal, or alleviate the current class struggle. At the same time, it was fairly easy for the American capitalists to incite hostility against the Chinese because of the following reasons. First, there were no Chinese labor unions, and Chinese workers lacked unity. Second, without the support of a powerful motherland, Chinese workers could not offer effective resistance. Third, many American people still lacked class consciousness, and the bourgeoisie could easily incite racial discrimination against the Chinese.

The American bourgeoisie created many worker aristocrats and actively encouraged opportunist ideas among the workers, thus creating contradictions in the labor movement. The "Workingmen's Party" and "Knights of Labor," under the leadership of these aristocrats as mentioned above, took an incorrect attitude toward Chinese workers, resulting in great damage to the cause of the labor movement. In his "Inaugural Address to the International Working Men's Association," Marx said:

"Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which stirs the [workers] to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation will be punished by the common confounding of their disunited efforts." What a serious lesson this is.

While vainly attempting to shift the responsibility of the anti-Chinese movement onto the broad masses, the American bourgeoisie also did everything it could to belittle the Chinese workers' achievements in building America. Thus they openly robbed the Chinese workers of the fruits of their labor. However, the effort [of the bourgeoisie] to undermine the solidarity of the working class was not successful. In 1884, the Chinese workers courageously went on strike for higher wages in California. This strike involved a large number of hop-pickers in Kern County, California. The employers planned to replace the Chinese strikers with black men, but the plan failed, mainly because the blacks refused to act as strikebreakers. (See Ponter, op. cit., p 67). This event clearly indicates that the oppressed Chinese workers had already united with the black men in the common struggle.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Kenneth Scott Latourette, "The History of Early Relations, The United States and China, 1784-1844," p 123; and Rose Huni Lee, "The Chinese in the United States of America," p 9.
2. George F. Seward, "Chinese Immigration in its Social and Economical Aspects," New York, 1891, p 7.
3. See Leo Huberman, "We, the People," pp 196-197.
4. George F. Seward, "Chinese Immigration in its Social and Economical Aspects," New York, 1891, part II, chapter 1, pp 18-19.
5. For water conservation work on the Sacramento River, see Robert Kelley, "Taming the Sacramento; Hamiltonianism in Action," in PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, January 1956.
6. D. Henderson, "Yankee Ships in China Seas," p 186.
7. Zhu Shijia [2612 1102 0857], "Historical Data on American Persecution of Chinese Workers," p 85. Also, for the conspiracy behind this expulsion, see Lynwood Carvano, "Chinese Expulsion from Humboldt County," in PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, November 1961.

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PARTY AND STATE

'BA YI' CRITICIZES CHINA'S WORSHIP OF WEST

OW161138 Ba Yi Radio [Clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 15 May 80

[Text] Without a doubt, the unhealthy general mood of society that has been taking shape in the past 2 years involves worship of the West, preaching bourgeois democracy, lacking confidence in the future, doubting the central authorities' principles and policies, damaging the prestige of leaders of the CCP Central Committee and seeking material ease and comfort.

However, it is extremely wrong to adopt stern disciplinary measures against large numbers of cadres in general, particularly the youth, for the purpose of eliminating such ideologically unhealthy tendencies. It is still less appropriate to take those tendencies as a major reason for purging cadres and consolidating the party. Moreover, we cannot put all the blame on the youth and cadres in general for such an unhealthy phenomenon.

Comrade Chen Yun put it well: "Class struggle in society is bound to be reflected inside the party, but cannot factional and power struggles within the party be reflected in society?" Why is the first part of this question stressed to the neglect of the second? During years of war, some people feared nothing at all, not even death. However, once someone takes up their faults, they are badly scared, fearing that the exposure of their faults will make them lose power. Certainly they will not feel at ease when criticism is made against them time and again. However, is it right for them to arrest and sentence people to 8-10 years of reform through labor or expel them from the party merely because they do not feel at ease?

It does not work to rely on administrative orders to solve these problems. What is even worse is to deal with them by large-scale arrests or killing. The harmful influence within the party, at home and abroad, caused by the handling of the Wei Jinsheng case, merits our attention in the future. The remarks by Comrade Chen Yun correctly reflect the actual situation and hit the crucial question.

During the past few years since the death of Chairman Mao and the downfall of the gang of four, ideological confusion and lack of confidence in the leadership of the central authorities have existed among the broad

masses of cadres and people as a result of the reversion of policies, the mistakes of economic plans and the faults of some leaders of the central authorities who have exceeded proper limits in righting wrongs and who have implemented ultrarightist policies under the slogan of criticising ultra-leftists. How can it be effective to adopt tough and highhanded measures to deal with these ideological problems? Why do not the leaders draw fire against themselves by first making self-criticism of their own words and deeds in order to encourage others to do likewise? Why do they always disguise themselves as people who are moderate, impartial and uniquely correct?

As for the question of worshipping the West and preaching bourgeois democracy, the youth and cadres in general are not totally to blame. Since a policy of "siding with the United States without reservation" was adopted, particularly since Vice Chairman Deng's U.S. and Japan visits and Chairman Hua's West Europe visit, the propaganda and cultural departments under the CCP Central Committee have hurriedly unfolded pro-U.S., pro-Japan, and pro-West mass campaigns. The official newspapers of the central authorities almost every day carry reports about scientific and technological, cultural, political and material life in the United States, Japan and West Europe. Movie theaters and television stations show Western films, and radios teach American songs. Almost every day, there is a Chinese delegation of one kind or another visiting the United States. In the international arena, China is launching all kinds of pro-U.S. diplomatic activities. We would like to ask, how on earth can all this prevent cadres in general and youth from admiring bourgeois democracy?

Accordingly, if we want to eliminate the ideologically unhealthy phenomenon, we should first clear away the root cause of the ideology. The first step is for several leaders of the central authorities to make self-criticism of their own words and deeds in the past 2 years.

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CALL FOR EVALUATION OF QU QIUBAI

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 12,
15 Dec 79 pp 15-26

[Article by Wang Weili [3769 4850 4409] and Du Wenjun [2629
2429 0689]; "Qu Qiubai Should Be Evaluated in an All-round Way"]

[Text] A re-evaluation of Qu Qiubai to thoroughly eliminate the evil influence of extreme "left" ideas from the evaluation of Qu is now considered important among historians and in literary and art circles.

We believe that the evaluation of Qu Qiubai ought to firmly hold to the principle of seeking truth from facts in conducting a class-oriented, historical, all-round, concrete analysis. In specific terms: (1) The entire lifetime of Qu Qiubai should be examined to discover his social practices and the entire development of his thought. Not only should each moment and each act be examined, moreover his entire history and his lifetime of work should also be examined. There should be no mere segments of history , nor any partial representations of the whole. The work must be done with great detail, separating the primary from the secondary. (2) In criticizing "Duoyude Hua--Superfluous Words" attention must be paid to the whole work and the whole man, and special care must be taken regarding the period before and after his incarceration to demonstrate the connections and avoid distorting meanings with fragments of articles or by watching out for the wind to catch at shadows. (3) Two borderlines must be clearly distinguished: "the borderline between revolution and anti-revolution, and the borderline between achievements and shortcomings. If these two borderlines are kept in mind, things are easily managed, otherwise the nature of the problem will become confused. Of course, to clearly mark the borderlines, it is necessary to make detailed investigation and analysis." A realistic drawing of these two borderlines is the basic premise for discussing the man and the events, otherwise the issues will become confused and right and wrong will be confounded.

(1)

The lifetime of Comrade Qu Qiubai (1899-1935) had both success and failure, but the former outweighs the latter. His most active period of social practice was in the 20s and 30s. Under the stimulus of the Russian October Revolution and the "May 4th" movement, Qu Qiubai joined the mighty torrent of the revolution and made a great contribution to the liberation of the Chinese people.

First, Qu Qiubai was one of the earliest Chinese socialist propagandists.

The "May 4th" movement of 1919 was the beginning of the new democratic revolution in China. "Although the Chinese Communist Party did not exist during the May Fourth Movement, however there already existed a great many intellectuals who approved of the Russian revolution or who had the beginnings of communist ideology."² Qu Qiubai was a major representative of these people.

Qu Qiubai was an active participant in the "May Fourth" movement and a leading organizer of the Beijing College of Russian Studies student movement. He used his "outstanding eloquence" to participate in mass struggles,³ and organized the students to present a petition to the traitorous Beijing government, for which he was arrested. Later, he recalled this saying, I "joined the student movement with unimaginable 'enthusiasm,'" and in the beginning "only knew that society suffered from nameless dread diseases, but knew not how to cure them."⁴ After engaging in actual struggle, and under the influence of such publications as "Xin Qingshian--New Youth," he quickly acquired accurate understanding of the May Fourth Movement: "In those days the real meaning of the patriotic movement could not be readily understood from a literal reading of the words. The Chinese people had suffered many years of exploitation, but only then came to know the taste of colonialism. Imperialist oppression cut to the bone, painfully arousing nightmares of democracy." "Therefore the student movement swiftly began a shift toward socialism."⁵

After being tempered by the "May Fourth" movement, Qu Qiubai's thought underwent a deep transformation. He broke away from his negative "escapist," "world-weary" views and threw himself into the mass movement. His ideology began to turn from anarchism and democracy to Marxism. In order to propagandize the problems of social transformation, he joined with Zheng Zhenduo [6774 2182 6995] and others to begin publication of "Xin Shehui--New Society;" published every 10 days, in October of 1919. However, not long thereafter, the reactionary government closed it down claiming it was "extremist," "Bolshevist" and "a great scourge."⁶ In articles published at that time Qu Qiubai publicly stated that in the movement to transform society, "The direct involvement of the Marxist faction could not be forgone."⁷

In 1921, Comrade Li Dazhao organized in Beijing a group for the study of Marxist theory and Qu Qiubai actively participated in this group's activities. In March of the same year he passionately called on the people to take up Russian studies, pointing out, "In Russia the Bolshevik Red Revolution brought great changes in politics, economics and in society, shook heaven and earth, and influenced thought throughout the whole world." "And in the benighted, desolate Chinese society, the people all wanted to follow a new path in their affairs of livelihood. To them the collapse of old Russian society sounded like footsteps in an empty valley, and they couldn't help being moved by them. Because of this everyone began to discuss and study Russia."⁸ He was not satisfied with understanding the Soviet October Revolution like "looking at the morning fog through a gauze curtain"⁹ and so bravely became a reporter for the Beijing newspaper CHEN BAO--MORNING NEWS and after overcoming many difficulties arrived in Moscow in January of 1921.

While in Moscow he ignored serious illness to study Marx-Leninism while investigating conditions in Soviet Union society. He wrote a great many communiqus, essays and political articles. His later publications "Travels in the Russian Countryside" and "Personal History of the Red Capital" were written during this period. Qu Qiubai enthusiastically praised the October revolution as the "first step in the affairs of 20th century history,"¹⁰ "a ray of light" in the darkness on earth, as "magnificent and stern, bright and fresh," and as "heretofore unseen sunlight."¹¹ He called post-October Revolution Moscow the "center of world revolution."¹² He urged people to "study scientifically oriented socialism."¹³ He saw in the Russian October Revolution a view of the future path of China and called out, "The beacon has appeared, and although the course be stormy a precise bearing must be set. Advance! Advance!"¹⁴ In February of 1922, with introductions from Zhang Tailei [1728 1132 7191] and Zhang Guotao [1728 0948 3614], he joined the Chinese Communist Party. He attended the Congress of Far Eastern Peoples and the Fourth Congress of the Comintern, and he made a prompt translation of Lenin's remarks to the Congress as well as other important documents, all of which were sent back to China to provide leadership for the revolution.

Second, Qu Qiubai was one of the most prestigious leaders in the early history of the Chinese Communist Party.

In January of 1923 Qu Qiubai returned to China. In June he attended the Third Party Congress and was elected a member of the Central Committee. Qu Qiubai played an important role in establishing and developing the first united front between the Nationalists and Communists. In January of 1924 he and Li Dazhao along with other comrades attended the First National Congress of the Nationalist Party, and moreover helped to draft the manifesto issued by the Congress. At about this time Qu Qiubai wrote

a series of articles, such as "Sun Zhongshan and the Chinese Revolutionary Movement," which made class analyses of the Nationalist Party, pointing out that it already was the "vanguard of the Chinese democratic faction," while at the same time it had weaknesses such as confused doctrine, association and party influences, and purely military exploits. He suggested reforming the Nationalist Party to make it the "center" of the national revolution and "the party which truly represented the Chinese common people."¹⁵ These views were very much to the point and played an important role in advancing close cooperation between the Nationalists and Communists. During the May 30th Movement Qu Qiubai was in charge of the work at the REXUE RIBAO-DAILY RIGHTEOUSNESS and coordinated the developments of the anti-imperialist struggle by analysing the situation promptly, revealing the basic nature of the imperialist movement and exposing the "Foreign Relations of the Bureaucrats, Businessmen and Warlords."¹⁶ He keenly pointed out "Who is Friend and Who is Foe?"¹⁷, correctly pointed out the proletariat as the "vanguard" of the anti-imperialist struggle, condemned the vacillation of the bourgeoisie, especially attacking Yu Xiaqing as a representative of the betrayal of the revolution by the comprador bourgeoisie. He made progress toward clarifying the goal of leading the anti-imperialist struggle toward "abrogating all unequal treaties" as one which must be based on solidifying and developing the people's strength on the united front of a struggle common to all classes. He advocated using the people's strength to promote political and military national unification, thus permitting the government to truly become a government for the people and permit the military to become a force truly for the people. These could smash imperialism and the obstructions of the warlords and bureaucrats and defeat the bourgeois plan to "consider only personal profit and defeat the united front." Qu wished to concentrate the nation's strength to "make war on imperialism."¹⁸

In order to protect and implement the Party's united front policy and smash the plot of the right wing of the Nationalist Party to destroy the revolution, Qu Qiubai actively participated in the struggle opposing Dai Jitao-ism. In major articles such as "The Chinese People's Revolution and Dai Jitao-ism" he used his trenchant pen to make penetrating theoretical analyses to denounce the fallacy of Dai Jitao's opposition to class struggle, and expose the basically reactionary nature of Dai Jitao-ism, and attack the arrogant bluster of the right wing of the Nationalist Party. Qu Qiubai pointed out that Dai Jitao's opposition to class struggle was but a hoax. Dai merely used "national interest" and "national culture" as signboards to "avoid the interests of the great majority of the worker peasant masses. ...and actually was the policy of the bourgeoisie to deceive the worker peasant class." Dai Jitao's lies to discourage the

worker-peasants from conducting class struggle were "a hint to the worker-peasant masses to discontinue their own struggle and yield to the commands of the upper class. Simply speaking, the upper class wanted to put the strength of the worker-peasants to use in attaining their own goal and prevent the worker-peasant masses from having any class consciousness."

During the great revolutionary period Qu Qiubai was one of the major figures opposing the right opportunism of Chen Duxiu. He made a relatively early Marxist analysis of the basic problems facing the Chinese revolution. He pointed out that the Chinese revolution was a "bourgeois revolution for civil liberties," and "without the leadership of the proletariat the revolution was bound to fail." Leadership, however, did not "naturally" fall into the hands of the proletariat but must be won in struggle. He pointed out that "there should be an alliance of the proletariat, hand laborers and peasants as the main force of the class attack force, and the petty bourgeoisie masses should be won over. These would render ineffective the doctrine of compromise advocated by the national bourgeoisie." He repeatedly emphasized that "Peasant revolution is the central question of the Chinese revolution and demanded strong support for peasant associations and peasant military forces to bring about local revolutions. Otherwise, the peasants would be lost, 'resulting in their both losing the soldiers and compensating the wives,' thus permitting the bourgeoisie to peacefully assume leadership. The bourgeoisie will not at all be grateful, but will oppose communism."¹⁹ It ought to be specially pointed out that Qu Qiubai gave enthusiastic support to the peasant revolution movement advocated by Peng Pai and Mao Zedong and other comrades. When Peng Shuzhi [1756 6615 0037] opposed the publication of Mao Zedong's "Investigative Report on the Hunan Peasant Movement" in the "Xiangdiao Zhoubao--The Guide Weekly," Qu personally wrote an introduction to it and gave it to the Changjiang-Long River Publishing House for publication as a monograph. He enthusiastically recommended it saying, "All Chinese revolutionaries ought to read this book by Mao Zedong as well as Peng Pai's "The Haifeng Peasant Movement." He called for the "Chinese revolutionaries to speak and act for the 390 million peasants and go the the battlefield to fight."

At the April, 1927 Fifth Congress, Qu Qiubai, Ren Bishi [0117 1732 2514] and other comrades carried out a decisive struggle against the right opportunist leadership of Chen Duxiu. During mid-July the Party Central conducted a reorganization and Qu Qiubai became a responsible person in the Politburo. A difficult and complicated struggle was undertaken to overcome the serious danger to the revolution posed by the capitulationism of Chen Duxiu. On August 7th, Qu Qiubai chaired an emergency meeting of the Central Committee which decided upon the general line of local revolution and armed resistance to the murderous policies of the Nationalist Party. This ended the right opportunist line

of Chen Duxiu. This meeting was a turning point of the revolution and played an important role in improving the chaotic conditions within the party and in leading the people to continue the revolutionary struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the August 7th meeting "Opposed right opportunism in politics and permitted the party to make great advances."²⁰ Qu Qiubai made an undeniably great contribution toward this end.

Third, Qu Qiubai was a glorious fighter in the leftist culture movement.

From the summer of 1931 till the end of 1933, Qu Qiubai joined the leftist movement in literature and art and actively participated in the struggle to oppose the Nationalist Party's reactionary campaign to "encircle and suppress" culture. He translated and introduced the theoretical writings of classic Marxist writers along with Russian literary works and translated and edited "Realism" a collection on literary theory and "Selections from Gorky's Discussions of Literature," and so on. These played an important leadership role in developing our revolutionary movement in literature and art. Lu Xun praised Qu Qiubai's translations as "unmatched in faithfulness and accuracy," "beneficial to the people and worthy of preservation."²¹ Qu Qiubai advocated "creating revolutionary mass literature and art,"²² and he actively put this into practice and wrote a number of "mass" works. He had a deep understanding of the theories of mass literature and art and took the correct line. His essays made sharp, incisive, forceful and bold criticisms of Jiang Jieshi's doctrine of non-resistance and stirred up the people's anti-Japanese feelings. He carried out relentless exposure and criticism of such propagandistic fallacies as "the free man," "the third type of person," "a literature of nationalism" and "the crescent moon faction." thus defeating the ranks of fawning dogs and wandering corpses sponsored by the reactionary faction of the Nationalist Party, and providing powerful protection for the proletarian cultural front.

It should be pointed out that during the three years of struggle in Shanghai, Qu Qiubai formed a deep revolutionary friendship with Lu Xun. Qu Qiubai was the first person to make a correct assessment of Lu Xun. In the spring of 1933 he compiled "A Selection of Lu Xun's Random Thoughts" and wrote a 10,000 word "Preface" to it, in which he discussed the development of Lu Xun's thought and evaluated the importance of Lu Xun's position in China's literary history, expressing a completely positive view of the revolutionary role of Lu Xun's essays. He praised Lu Xun as "an unfilial son of the feudal, ancestral society, a turncoat official of the gentry class, and a friendly critic of the romantic revolutionaries!"²³ "We ought to learn from him and advance with him."²⁴ After Qu Qiubai

was arrested Lu Xun was very sad and wrote to Cao Jinghua [2580 7231 5478] saying, "It really happened, I received proof last month, but could do nothing about it. This is really a great cultural loss, nothing worse could have happened." After the execution of Qu Qiubai Lu Xun was inconsolable. To commemorate his comrade-in-arms and counter-attack the enemy he neglected his ill-health to personally compile Qu's writings under the title "Haishang Shulin" and publish it using the most elegant materials then available. The publishing house was significantly called the "All-China Frost Commemorative Society," as Qu's original given name was "Xuang-Frost." This was a protest against the reactionary faction in the Nationalist Party responsible for Qu's murder. Lu Xun also said, "I publish his writings as a memorial, a protest, and as a warning! "He was killed but his writings were not and cannot be killed!"

Qu Qiubai's history also shows some policy errors. The problem is one of understanding his "left" putschism and its fundamental nature. In the period from late 1927 until early 1928 Qu Qiubai made an erroneous calculation of the nature, form and tasks of the Chinese revolution. He advocated "left" putschism, encouraged petty bourgeois impetuosity, thus permitting for the first time the "left" line to gain complete control of the leadership organs. This was the forerunner of the two later instances in which the "left" line caused setbacks to the Chinese revolution. However, the error this time was in realizing that subjectivism was leading the political putsches of the "left", and it was an error committed by comrades within the Party. Qu Qiubai himself quickly became aware of the error and made repeated investigations after the Party's Sixth Congress. After the Sixth Congress he not only performed a great amount of work as delegate to the Comintern, he also performed an important function during the Third Plenum of the Sixth Congress in correcting the errors of the Li Lisan line. In truth, as a revolutionary, Qu Qiubai made errors but had the courage to correct them and did so successfully. Under the influence of the rather "left" never right movement, some people saw the comrades who had followed incorrect lines as the "enemy" and destroyed them. In this complex class struggle they made no concrete analysis of the subjective and objective factors of "left" and right line errors, and saw the comrades who had committed policy errors as "evil people" bent on "overthrowing the party" and "warming their way into the party." Moreover, once an error had committed, all previous contributions became "attempts to deceive the party" and the offender was seen as "never having been a Marxist." No fine distinctions were made and all things were lumped together as a "consistent pattern" of "typical opportunism." Qu Qiubai could hardly escape being designated "boss of the opportunist line." For

example, Qu Qiubai accurately portrayed the conditions of the Soviet Union October Revolution and so was said to be "deeply influenced by the 'darker aspects' of the early Soviet state." He "degraded the "October Revolution" by "coordinating the reactionary faction's attack on the first socialist state. Qu, in his resolute struggle against both the theory and practice of Chen Duxiu's right opportunist line became described as "a dyed-in-the-wool right opportunist" who "stood on the right with Chen Duxiu." The revolutionary friendship forged between Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai in the struggle was twisted into Qu's deception of Lu, and so on. To sum up, simply because Qu Qiubai committed a policy error his entire past was condemned. Because Qu later wrote "Superfluous Words" he was then struck from history. The fallacies of this historical idealism hiding under the veil of the extreme "left" clamored for a while and spread its poison far, confusing the contradictory nature of the policy struggle within the party, destroying the grand tradition of policy struggle within the party and causing great confusion in the study of party history.

(2)

A key problem in evaluating Qu Qiubai is in understanding the main direction and basic nature of "Superfluous Words." Is it "a ray of light to captivate the eye" or is it a serious blemish in history? The correct solution to these questions requires a concrete analysis to unify the background, goals and content of "Superfluous Words" with Qu Qiubai's actual expressions after his incarceration.

Under What conditions and why did Qu Qiubai write "Superfluous Words"?

Qu Qiubai was captured in Xiaojing village of Shuikou township in Changding county on 24 February 1935. "At the time of his arrest he was not yet identified."²⁵ He used the false name He Qixiang and fabricated a background to fool the enemy. At the same time he wrote to Lu Xun and Zhou Jianren [0719 1696 0086] to attempt to gain his release. However, after being sent to Changding he was identified by a traitor and his status was exposed. On May 9, he was sent to the Nationalist 36th Division Headquarters. He then "had the very best of treatment,"²⁶ but his thoughts became ever more negative because of captivity, he thought he was "awaiting 'the end of his life.'"²⁷ The contents of his poems, letters and even "superfluous Words" were written in this emotional state.

Qu Qiubai himself said his reasons for writing "Superfluous Words" were the "the desire to take this opportunity before his life was over to write his final and most revealing words."²⁸ the reasoning, he said, was that he has "already lost all my weapons, was separated from the troop and have only myself left.

To say these heartfelt words will reveal my true inner being.²⁹ It can thus be seen that "Superfluous Words" reveals his true inner world and is a self-revelation more accurate than outside evaluations.

How, then, are we to take the contents of "Superfluous Words"?

First, the main direction of the thought in "Superfluous Words" is incorrect. It presents a concentrated reflection of the vacillation of Qu Qiubai's ideology and the weakening of his revolutionary will. If Qu Qiubai felt that the poems of his youth reflected a "repentent nobility" then we feel that "Superfluous Words" is the pre-execution confession of a "repentant warrior." On the one hand Qu Qiubai reflects that his own revolutionary life wherein he gave himself over to revolutionary struggle and became a party leader "was all a 'historical mis-understanding,'" and "a waste of a lifetime of effort in politics which did not interest me," "truly the result of a betrayal of my own interests and temperament, really a mistake lasting tens of years, a nightmare." On the other hand, Qu Qiubai's hopelessness is expressed in saying he "had already lost his weapons, been plucked from the troop," "had already ceased political struggle and laid down his weapons," "already was politically dead and could no longer be a Marxist propagandist."³⁰ What he needed was "Rest, rest, Rest!" "Permanent rest." Such gloomy and pessimistic thoughts, self-blame and self-negation abound in "Superfluous Words" from beginning to end and form its basic mood.

While incarcerated, Qu Qiubai consistently expressed this mistaken ideological direction throughout "Superfluous Words." While jailed and feeling so negative and depressed, he responded to people's requests to carve seals for them, finishing over 60 in 40-some days, "using this to while away the time."³¹ Whether he wrote lyric poetry, wrote letters or chatted, his mood was always dispirited. In a mood of "a broken life devoid of the senses, we make our own destiny," ("Untitled") he looked back on "20 years of a floating life all for naught, the glory of youth like water drained to the sea, madly striving to be a hero," ("Wave-washed Sand") and regretting that now "the evening draws near, the setting sun so red." This is especially true of "A Compilation of Tang Dynasty Couplets" written before his death, "In massed mountains the evening sun brightens the dust/Leaves falling in cold springs sounding so distant; Having suffered ten years of playacting/My heart must pause in an unconnected void." The tragic mood of these couplets matches the contents of "Superfluous Words" and show how the main current of thought is so tragic. In 1950, Comrade Cang Kejin [5258 0344 1367], unable to understand or believe that such poetry could be written by Qu Qiubai, made the following analysis, "If those four lines of poetry (from

the Tang poetry compilation) were written by a Buddhist undergoing a "transformation through meditation" would not be off the mark, because for a warrior death is immortality! As for "madly striving to be a hero," that is but the repentance felt just prior to death." Now almost 30 years later, a review of this criticism shows it to be right on target.

The wrong ideological tendency found in "Superfluous Words" reflects Qu Qiubai's serious errors of understanding concerning such basic problems as the revolution, himself, life and death. In terms of the sort of dedication of a Communist Party member to give his whole life to the revolution Qu Qiubai truly was inferior to such people as Chen Yi [7115 3015] "Live for the revolution and die without regret," and He Jinzhang [6320 6930 4545] "I am aware of only the party, nothing else." The motto of a Communist Party member is "as long as there is life the struggle goes on." For a Communist Party member arrest and incarceration are but a shift of the battleground rather than the negation of life itself. This is shown in the example of Comrade Fang Zhiyuan [2455 1807 2404], arrested and executed in 1935, and who wrote while in jail such stirring and brave poems as "Lovely China" and "Poor but Pure." On the night before his execution Comrade Ji Hongchang [0679 7703 2490] continued his anti-Japanese propaganda. The comrades in his cell advised him, "Rest a bit, what is there left to say?" This martyr bravely replied, "I am going to my eternal rest, let me say a few words more!"³⁴ These comparisons make Qu Qiubai's ideological errors reflected in "Superfluous Words" ever more prominent and clear.

Second, the basic errors of direction shown in "Superfluous Words" are the errors in political ideology committed by a revolutionary comrade and not a confession of surrender to the enemy or a change of loyalty. In "Superfluous Words" Qu Qiubai made no concessions to the enemy, didn't beg to save his life and did not attack the revolution or betray his comrades. In order to misdirect the line of inquiry and protect his comrades he lied to the enemy saying, "I was in charge of all the responsible organs left behind (in the Soviet area)."³⁵ With the words "A recurring major illness wasted three years of my life" he purposefully avoided revealing his activities in Shanghai in order to protect Lu Xun and other comrades and friends on the cultural battlefield in the White areas. He maintained his faith in Marxism saying, "It is inaccurate to say that I have already given up Marxism," "My thinking first turned to Marxism in my youth and has never changed." He willingly examined his political errors and was deeply troubled by them. He felt no ill-will toward the Party or his comrades, and did not even show any resentment toward the Wang Ming line's "relentless struggle and fierce attack" against him. He felt nostalgic, "To me the world is still very beautiful.

Everything new, contentious and brave is yet in the future." He thought of his comrades, "You will advance bravely in the struggle and I can envy and congratulate you...." expressing his deep feelings for the revolution and his comrades. He had a certain level of understanding and criticism of his own errors and the reasons for them. This can be seen in "Superfluous Words" which is a positive though not main theme in this book. It should be specially noted that in his very last moments Qu Qiubai sang the "Internationale" when entering the execution ground and "requested to be executed in a supine position, his bearing was still completely at ease."³⁶ With cries of "Long live communism!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!" he gave his last drop of blood for the Chinese revolution. In the final test on the border between life and death Qu Qiubai upheld his stature as a communist and proved his worthiness. Without question he is a martyr to the Chinese Communist Party and revolutionary people ought to commemorate him.

For many years, under the confusion of the extreme leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the concept rather "left" never right was widespread, metaphysics ran rampant, confusing the two types of contradictions regarding Qu Qiubai, excavating graves and smashing tombstones, issuing battle reports, printing special collections, muddling everything, and mistaking men for devils. A number of superficially correct fallacies were accepted and even today remain uncorrected; the true nature of Qu Qiubai's history has not yet been completely restored.

One frequently heard comment is that Qu Qiubai's "Superfluous Words" and Li Xiucheng's [2621 4423 2052] "Zixu--A Personal Account" are "so strikingly similar." In fact, many historical incidents have "a surprising number of similarities." In historical research, comparisons of various incidents and people and making analysis is really quite unavoidable. The phrase that they are "so strikingly similar" for a time seemed almost to be a metaphor for a simple metaphysical analogy, with the result that the meaning was changed and history was distorted. A number of people failed to make concrete, detailed analyses of the content, ideological drift and basic nature of "Superfluous Words" and took Li Xiucheng's "A Personal Account" as the model, and thus brought to "Superfluous Words" a rebel framework within which to hunt for "materials." This method is entirely subjective. A look at the content of "A Personal Account" shows that Li Xiucheng as a "defeated general" was grateful for the "broadmindness" and "benevolence" of Zeng Guofan and clearly expressed this by saying, "such generous treatment can be repaid with my life." He believed that the revolution was, "fated to end as it did, a plan which failed," My lord had no good fortune, the Qing dynasty had good fortune." He then suggested the "ten surrender demands," "surrender of

the troops for generous reward." The criticism of Li Xiucheng's "A Personal Account" is yet another matter. However, in a comparison of the two where are there any "striking similarities"? When Qu Qiubai was in jail his thoughts were negative and he rejected the self, but he did not reject the revolution, flatter the enemy or put forth anything like "surrender demands." Would it not be too insane to condemn the one simply because both were written in prison and not make an analysis of the differences in content and nature? Isn't such an approach "strikingly similar" to Jiang Jieshi's arrest of workers as "reds" for wearing red cloth or prohibiting the "Mashi Wentong-Mr Ma's Grammar" simply of the surname "Ma" shared with Marx?

In historical circles there already is a good beginning to the complete elimination of the remaining poisons of rather "left" never right in correctly evaluating Qu Qiubai's historical achievements. However, the matter of how to completely eliminate the fallacy of rather "left" never right still has problems worthy of investigation. In such articles as "A Re-evaluation of 'Superfluous Words'"³⁸ and "Smashing Taboos within the Party"³⁹ which evaluate Qu Qiubai, several positive views are expressed which perform a good role in correcting the evaluation of Qu Qiubai, yet they have some points which require discussion.

The "Re-evaluation" affirms that the main basis of "shedding light is of primary importance" in "Superfluous Words" is the phrase to conduct a "strict self-appraisal." The "Re-evaluation" states that Qu Qiubai "used a tempered surgical knife to dissect his own brief life" and that "the spirit of strict self-appraisal saturates the lines of "Superfluous Words."⁴⁰ For a Communist Party member a "strict self-appraisal" is conducted for the benefit of the party and the people to deeply criticize oneself, eliminate political baggage unbeneificial to the party's endeavors, extract the lessons of experience and perform better in the struggle. The negative self-revelations of "Superfluous Words" do not all match these qualities. When Qu Qiubai made this self-analysis he did not embellish his prose or strive for effects and he made revelations concerning some matters of deep ideological nature. This is all to the good, but it is only one aspect of the matter. The questions are: What sort of surgical knife did Qu Qiubai use to dissect himself? What was the result of the dissection? The "Re-evaluation" says that Qu Qiubai "sometimes used an 'outsiders's' viewpoint to dissect himself and that the results were"an historical mistake? and a "nightmare." Qu Qiubai's mood was one of self-revelation and self-denigration when he "tore off the false face," not caring even "whether or not the universe is destroyed or if it is revolutionary or anti-revolutionary, or whatever. I just want to rest, rest, rest!!" The unity of the foregoing with an analysis of "Superfluous Words" shows that this certainly is

not the proper attitude for self-criticism by a communist, even less a "strict self-assessment." Rather, it is a hopeless self-negation which no Communist Party member should ever have, and it ought to be criticized. Worthy of note is Qu Qiubai's despondent yet appreciative attitude toward self-appraisal, a despondency which could not be alleviated. If the present re-evaluation of "Superfluous Words" is influenced by sympathy and pity this will adversely affect the precision and fairness of an otherwise scientific assessment.

One of the affirmations in the "re-evaluation" analysis of a "brightness that captures one's eyes" in "Superfluous Words" is that Qu Qiubai had already reached "a clear understanding of the self." The "Re-evaluation" used Qu's recognition that he had within him an unconquerable "gentry consciousness" and that he "would never become a proletarian fighter" to make a further analysis of his understanding that he had to make a "complete break with traditional attitudes" and said that this was "a point of ideological perceptiveness." It must be affirmed that Qu Qiubai's recognition of the class and ideological sources of his errors does provide a number of useful lessons. However, the proof of whether or not a person "makes a complete break with traditional attitudes" is not in his "recognition" of this fact but in his practices. Qu's ideological errors and negative moods while incarcerated show that he really lacked "clear recognition" of his old self. Actually, the continual thread of petty bourgeois feelings in "Superfluous Words" is proof that he had not "made a complete break with traditional attitudes."

In Qu Qiubai's thought "vacillation is a major blemish. However, during a struggle, under certain conditions a degree of vacillation was admitted to even by such a person as Stalin."⁴⁰ "Vacillation" certainly is "a major blemish" and no matter who "admitted to it" it still is a "blemish." The problem is that the "vacillation" Stalin "admitted to" is an error entirely different from the vacillation Qu Qiubai committed. Stalin said, "After returning from exile I experienced some vacillation."⁴¹ But who among us has not had a moment of vacillation? What were the conditions and what was the nature of Stalin's vacillation? He said, "(In March of 1917) with regard to the peace treaty the party adopted a policy of increased Soviet pressure on the provisional government rather than immediately advance from the old slogan of proletarian and peasant dictatorship to the new slogan of Soviet authority. The hope of this policy was to reveal to the Soviets in the matter of the peace treat the basically imperialist nature of the provisional government, with the goal of separating the Soviet from them. This stance was completely in error because it prolonged the fantasies of pacifism and aided the protection of the state, obstructing revolutionary education of the masses. At

that time I and other comrades in the party approved of this mistaken policy, and then in the middle of April, with the approval of Lenin's outline, completely discarded this stance."⁴² It is very clear that Stalin's "vacillation" was nothing more than choosing an incorrect policy during a turning point in the revolution and what similarity has this with Qu Qiubai's prison expressions of negativism, tragedy and even self-negation? Such a comparison ignores historical conditions and content, confusing the two dissimilar types of "vacillation" and is but a demonstration of metaphysics. To use Stalin's "vacillation" to attempt to explain Qu Qiubai's errors demonstrates the fallacy of rather "left" never right.

(3)

Qu Qiubai's whole life was complex and contradictory. He not only made an enormous contribution to the revolution but also committed policy errors in the tumultuous struggle. Many of his penetrating discussions inspired the people to struggle bravely, yet his negative, depressed thinking left him a blemish in the historical record. In reviewing his life the successes predominate and there ought to be a restoration of the original historical record according to the facts, however his errors should not be wiped out as they in fact do exist. The remaining problems are, Why did such a famous proletarian political activist as Qu Qiubai write such an erroneous work as "Superfluous Words?" What was the basis for it? What lessons are to be learned from this?

"Superfluous Words" is superfluous" is the usual explanation of a few well-meaning comrades. Actually, "Superfluous Words" is not superfluous and is the product of the development of Qu's ideological contradictions.

Qu Qiubai was born into an impoverished gentry family. Although the family fortunes were declining, while Qu was a boy they "lived a good many years of the 'young master' lifestyle on the basis of the forebears' government service." After the 1911 Revolution things became ever more difficult for the family and they existed by pawning and selling their belongings, by indebtedness and finally by selling their home and moving into the ancestral hall. His father was long unemployed and far away from home. His mother unable to withstand the pressures then committed suicide. Such hardships made a very deep impression on the young Qu Qiubai. He later recalled: "The pain of that moribund family system in the last few rays of its setting sun was burned into my mind, influencing my whole life, becoming a permanent influence which penetrated my feelings and overturned my inner being."⁴³ He felt that, "The significance of man's existence was dark indeed."⁴⁴ The depression, darkness and despondency of the impoverished gentry class made a lasting impression of the spirit of Qu Qiubai.

The 1911 Revolution exerted a positive influence on Qu Qiubai, stirring up his revolutionary enthusiasm. However, the followers of the 1911 Revolution had an undeserved reputation, stimulating truly evil political phenomena," making him very upset and frustrated. He researched ancient prose and poetry to alleviate his depression. He studied the Buddhist texts, Tolstoy and the like in an effort to seek solutions for mankind's problems. The guns of the October Revolution and the storm of the May Fourth Movement aroused deep feelings of patriotic nationalism in Qu Qiubai. Following the great tide of the revolution the lure of Marxism led his thought to a new stage of development and the beginning of his revolutionary life.

Qu Qiubai, the unfilial son of the impoverished gentry class became a proletarian fighter and his progression from "a dualistic view of life to Marxism was completed in the dramatic conditions of the revolution. He threw himself into the proletarian revolution still dragging a very long tail of gentry consciousness, and history put him into a position of party leadership before he could eliminate his "gentry consciousness" and "literati practices." Qu Qiubai made a number of contributions to the Chinese revolution. Nonetheless, that Qu Qiubai with his training in the revolution and as a communist with considerable theoretical cultivation could produce such a mistaken book as "Superfluous Words" appears to be a contradiction, but actually was not by chance.

First, in "Superfluous Words" Qu Qiubai reveals his mistaken ideology in that he did not thoroughly undergo transformation of his petty bourgeois world view. In the period from joining the revolution to just prior to the Fourth Plenum of the Sixth Congress he experienced both the high and low points of the revolution, and in opposing and ending the right opportunist line of Chen Duxiu he made a great contribution. However, hatred of the murderous policies of the Nationalist Party and anger over Chen Duxiu's capitulationism engendered in Qu Qiubai his petty bourgeois revolutionary impetuosity, animating his "leftist" putschism and bringing great losses to the revolution. He presided over the Third Plenum of the Sixth Congress which corrected the Li Lisan line, after which he quickly ran into the vicious struggle and attacks of the Wang Ming line. Although he committed errors prior to the Fourth Plenum of the Sixth Congress, everything was still smooth as far as he personally was concerned and he had suffered no setbacks. After the Fourth Plenum the political situation changed dramatically and Qu Qiubai who always had trusted his theoretical stance suddenly went to the extreme of self-abasement, emptiness and the feeling that nothing was going right, "a spiritual condition of 'total vacuity,'" and "a state wherein all energy had been exhausted. During the next four years he performed some useful work in literature and art and in cultural

education in the Soviet areas. His comment that at this time his "political life was already finished" was an exaggeration, but his negative, despondent feelings increased. For example, regarding the tactics of the Wang Ming line, he "sometimes thought they were incomprehensible," but he was "unwilling to differ in any way with the central authority." If he did differ he "always immediately 'relinquished' these incorrect views." It is no wonder that after being arrested he believed that it was "the eve of his destruction" and that feelings of despair and hopelessness overflowed. Lenin said that features of the petty bourgeoisie were weakness, lax discipline, individualism and an enthusiasm which quickly became despair. "Superfluous Words" is a concentrated demonstration of that petty bourgeoisie mentality characterized by extremism, fragility and an enthusiasm which quickly turns to despair.

Second, Qu Qiubai's petty bourgeoisie world view never was completely transformed, the main reason being his lack of direct training in mass struggle. Qu's revolutionary work had two obvious characteristics. One was that most of his time was spent on upper level leadership work. Another was that most of his time was spent on theoretical propaganda and cultural education. He lacked the real work experience in the actual worker-peasant movement and the training in military struggle undergone by such comrades as Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Fang Zhimeng [2455 1807 2404], and Deng Zhongxia [6772 0022 1115]. This caused him to have a number of weaknesses and shortcomings which were not easily revealed or perceived by others. Because he lacked baptism in the storm of mass struggle he felt empty and "unreal," and felt that real life "seemed like looking at flowers through a fog, separated by a film." Of course, the conditions had objective existence, but subjective efforts are also very important. One important factor was that Qu Qiubai lacked strong awareness of unity with the worker-peasants. Once he recalled "The feeling of viewing flowers through a fog makes one rather depressed, lonely and isolated and desirous of experiencing the flavor of real existence. For example, in the 'central Soviet area' the local revolution had already operated for three or four years but what concrete changes had developed in the daily personal lives of the peasants and what precisely were their feelings? I twice undertook investigations, but upon speaking found there was no 'common language' and as I was very lazy, in the end nothing came of it."

Third, the deep imprint of impoverished gentry consciousness. The depression, darkness, tragedy and world-sorrow in Qu's thought clearly are a reflection of impoverished gentry consciousness. In Qu Qiubai this consciousness sometimes was hidden and sometimes revealed, and was with him all his life. When recuperating from an illness in the Soviet Union he felt

that his "heart and mind were not in harmony," "the disease of despondency was deep within," and with an excess of emotion believed that he was "'a superfluous person' in China."⁴⁵ These are clear evidence of this mood. Actually, what Qu Qiubai described as the so-called "literati" character "irresolute and hesitant, floating with the current," and "A few examples of 'weak morals'--patience, evasion, compromise, the wish for general peace and quiet, benevolence and the lot" all are the marks of this social class. With regard to this, even though Qu Qiubai's death deserves pity and appreciation, he was unwilling to make a clean break and eliminate the bonds of his "alien" class consciousness. Nonetheless, from a summation of his personal sufferings experienced at the end of his life there is a striking and valuable lesson for the people.

"My life can perhaps serve as a lesson in that to temper oneself requires an enormous amount of courage in order to conquer all "alien" class consciousness and even the most minute of "alien" class feelings and then make a complete escape from the "alien" class to firmly plant one's feet among the ranks of the proletariat. Otherwise, the situation will unavoidably become a farce."

To sum up, Qu Qiubai struggled all his life for the revolution and ought to be commemorated by the party and the people. However, because he was unable to completely transform his petty bourgeois would view or completely overcome his gentry consciousness there is a blemish on his history. This is a lesson we all ought to absorb.

At present, in the questions regarding the evaluation of Qu Qiubai, the fallacies of the extreme "leftist" tide await our criticism. However, in the process of putting things to right we must hold to the principle of working from the facts, neither overstating nor understating Qu's success and failures and rights and wrongs, even less by yielding to the emotions of pity or praise in the arguments. Only thus can right and wrong be clearly distinguished and a scientific conclusion accord with reality be reached.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Mao Zedong Xuanji--Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Single-volume Edition, p. 1,382.
2. Ibid., p. 660.
3. Zheng Zhenduo [6774 2182 6995], "Ji Qu Qiubai Tongzhi Zao Zaoniane Yi-er Shi--Two or Three Events in Comrade Qu Qiubai's Early Years," in "Xin Guancha--New Observations," 1955, No. 12.

- 4,5. "Qu Qiubai Wenji--Collected Prose of Qu Qiubai," Vol 1, p 23.
6. Ibid., p 24.
7. XIN SHEHUI--NEW SOCIETY, published every 10 days, No. 9, 1920, January.
8. "Collected Prose of Qu Qiubai," Vol. 3, p 543.
9. Ibid., Vol. 1, p 24.
10. Ibid., p 156.
11. Ibid., p 4.
12. Ibid., p 127.
13. 14. Ibid., p 88.
15. Qu Qiubai, "Zhongguo Geming zhi Zhenglun Wenti--Controversial Questions of the Chinese Revolution."
- 16, 17. REXUE RIBAO editorial, see the Chinese People's University compilation published as a monograph in 1953.
18. XIANGDAO, No. 125.
19. Qu Qiubai, "Controversial Questions on the Chinese Revolution."
20. "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," p 513.
21. "Lu Xun Quanji--Complete Works of Lu Xun," Vol 7, p 778.
22. "Qu Qiubai's Prose Works," Vol. 3, p 886.
23. Ibid., p 980.
24. Ibid., p 1,002
25. "Qu Qiubai Fangwen Ji--An Interview with Qu Qiubai," GUOWEN ZHOUBAO--NATIONAL NEWS WEEKLY REPORT, Vol. 12, No.26.
26. Ibid.
27. "Qu Qiubai zhi Guo Moruo Xin--A Letter from Qu Qiubai to Guo Moruo," dated 28 May 1935.
- 28, 29. Qu Qiubai, "Duoyude Hua--Superfluous Words," all following quotations from Qu Qiubai which do not indicate the source are from this work.
30. "A Letter from Qu Qiubai to Guo Moruo."
31. NATIONAL NEWS WEEKLY REPORT, Vol 12, No. 26.
32. "Selections from Chen Yi's Poetry," p 22.
33. "Geming Lieshi Shichao--Poems of the Revolutionary Martyrs," p 40.
34. "Hongqi Piaopiao--Red Flags Aflutter," No. 5, p 71.

35. After the Long March the organ left in the central Soviet area was the Jiangxi branch of the Central Bureau with Comrade Xiang Ying [7309 5391] as Secretary in full charge. Comrade Chen Yi was in charge of the Office of the Central Government and was responsible for all government work.
36. "Yijing" [6654 4842], No. 34.
37. 38. LISHI YANJIU--HISTORICAL RESEARCH, 1979, No 3. All following references will be abbreviated as "Re-evaluation."
39. Ibid., No 1.
40. Ibid.
41. "Complete Works of Stalin," Vol. 9, p 59.
42. Ibid. Vol. 6, p 289.
- 43, 44. "Collected Prose of Qu Qiubai," Vol 1, p 13.
45. Ibid. p 169.

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PARTY AND STATE

ADHERENCE TO PARTY'S POLITICAL, IDEOLOGICAL LINE STRESSED

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 19 Mar 80 p 2

[A talk on the guiding principles for inner-party political life, by Cheng Yi [4453 3015]: "Persist in the Political and Ideological Line of the Party"]

[Text] The key to the success or failure of the revolutionary cause lies in whether or not the political and ideological line is correct. Persisting in the party's political and ideological line is the most fundamental of the guiding principles for inner-party political life; the role of all the others is to first insure the implementation of this one.

To lead all the people of the country to carry out revolution and construction, the party must have a correct political line which the whole party and all the people of the country may follow. The political line is laid down by the party in a certain historical period for the accomplishment of certain revolutionary tasks. The political line should not only point out clearly the direction of work and the goal which the party must reach in this historical period but also map out the correct path to reach this goal. When the tasks of a certain historical period are accomplished, then the party must lay down a new political line according to new circumstances. To achieve the task of democratic revolution, our party laid down the general line of new democratic revolution. After the victory of the democratic revolution, the party again laid down the political line of "one transformation and three reforms." The basic content of the political line proposed by the 3rd Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is to unite the people of all nationalities in our country, mobilize all positive factors, be of one heart and one mind, go all out, aim high and build a modern socialist power with greater, faster, better and more economical results. This was laid down after our party summed up its past experience and lessons drawn through the last 30 years. After the seizure of political power by the proletariat, and especially after the resolution of the ownership system, our party should promptly shift the focus of work to the field of economic construction, and lay down an appropriate new political line. Our party had once made due preparations to enforce this strategic shift; however, through repeated setbacks, it was not materialized from beginning to end. In the turbulence of 10 years, the national modernization cause that all people of our country longed for was

unexpectedly taken by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" as a "counterrevolutionary cause of the most heinous crimes." They would not be satisfied till they completely strangled it. Thus, their reactionary features of opposing the Chinese people were thoroughly exposed. This serious reversal of the cardinal issues of right and wrong was finally again reversed after the downfall of the "gang of four."

In this new era, the political line of our party is the legacy of our older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, which depicts the unanimous wish of all the people of our country. It is a Marxist line that represents the long-term highest interests of all the people of our country. The basic interests of all our people in the country lie in profoundly understanding its important and far-reaching significance and firmly and unflinchingly carrying out this political line from beginning to end. In this new historical period, we are determined to build Tianjin into a modern industrial base, a base of science and technology and a base of export in foreign trade. To achieve this grand plan, we must proceed from reality and resolutely carry out the party's political line.

The ideological line is the basis for working out and correctly implementing the political line. Without a correct ideological line, it is not possible to bring about a correct political line. The understanding of the line according to dialectical materialism was formed by our party during the rectification campaign in Yanan, and is an entirely correct ideological line which guided our party to win one victory after another. The party's ideological line calls for persisting in the road of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the party and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Our party has always advocated the dialectical materialist method of thinking and method of work. The basic point is to proceed from reality in all matters, to integrate theory with practice, and to seek truth from facts. The idealist and metaphysical ideological line, vigorously promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," is diametrically opposed to the dialectical materialist ideological line of our party. They waved the signboard of "hold high" and "follow closely," all along distorted and tampered with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, countered their spiritual essence, departed from practical standards, took every word of Comrade Mao Zedong as the truth, as the law and the doctrine, described it as the highest and final truth, told the people to act accordingly and prohibited them to make even one step beyond the bounds. By defying the leader, they seriously confined the people in thinking and made them to believe only in the book and in those above and not in reality. Having been deceived and fooled by them, even now some people still cannot thoroughly resolve the question of ideological ossification. We must eliminate completely the evil influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and, therefore, must resolutely eradicate superstition, emancipate our minds, take practice as the only criterion to test the truth, earnestly study the new circumstances, solve new problems, persist in seeking truth from facts and proceed from reality in all matters. Only in this way can we correctly implement the party's political line.

To persist in the political and ideological line of the party, it is necessary to oppose the two wrong ideological tendencies. One is to oppose ideological ossification, and to oppose the dogmatism of proceeding from books in all matters. The so-called ideological ossification means that the people are bound by rigid man-made rules and conventions so that when they look at the situation, think and act, they do not see the reality, do not study the new situation and new problems and try to find answers from the books in all matters. They will never change anything in the books, and will never speak or act in any way not laid down in the books. Whoever does his work, makes any proposal and formulates any principle or policy according to objective reality, has disobeyed the authority and defied the truth, and has committed crimes. Such an idea goes against Marxism, which is a great obstacle to the current implementation of the party's political line. The world is making progress, the situation is changing, and things are developing. Therefore, when we look at the situation, think and act, we must proceed from objective reality, link the basic principle of Marxism with the current development of the situation at home and abroad, and with the concrete practice of socialist modernization. China's program of socialist modernization cannot be found from the books. There are also no ready-made samples to copy from. Our country is so vast, the conditions in various places are so different, we must link the party's line and policies with the concrete conditions in our localities and units, make our study by seeking truth from facts, and resolve all theoretical and practical questions in the course of the current revolutionary struggle and modernization. Only in this way can we correctly carry out the party's political line.

The other is to oppose and criticize the wrong viewpoint and the revisionist ideological trend to reject the road of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership of the party and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Somebody claims that socialism has no example, proletarian dictatorship has no targets, the party's leadership has no strength, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought are too abstract. Such an incorrect viewpoint and revisionist ideological trend in essence reject the construction of a powerful modern socialist country. Socialism is the direction of historic development and China's only correct path to become rich, strong and prosperous. Our proletarian dictatorship was established after we spent 28 years and paid a tremendous price; it is our guarantee for carrying out socialist revolution and construction. Our party is the core of leadership of all the Chinese people for the realization of the four modernizations. Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought constitute our theoretical basis which guides us in carrying out revolution and construction. In our struggle to realize the four modernizations, we must persist in these four basic principles from beginning to end, persist in the principle that individuals should submit to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level and the whole party to the central level, and resolutely oppose and completely resist reactionary views and ideological trends which reject the four basic principles.

As far as the party's organs at all levels, all departments and all party members are concerned, consciously and unflinchingly carrying out the party's political and ideological line is their expression of persisting in the party spirit.

Adopting the attitude of resisting the party's line and leadership or being slack in work, and adopting the attitude of double-dealing by feigning compliance or going one's own way cannot be permitted given the discipline of the party!

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HONG KONG JOURNAL ANALYZES HUA GUOFENG'S POSITION

HK200250 Hong Kong TUNGHSIANG in Chinese No 20, 16 May 80 pp 7-8

[Article by Kondo, special correspondent of Japan's ASAHI SHIMBUN stationed in Beijing: "Is Hua Guofeng's Position Steady?"]

[Text] The Steady and Practical Leader

The reputation of Hua Guofeng, chairman of the Chinese Communist Party and premier of the State Council, has been rising among foreign delegations which recently visited China. In early spring this year, around the time of the 5th plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, some observers held that Hua's leading position would soon change. However, with the rising of his reputation, this kind of "talk about changes" has disappeared and "talk of stability" has been gradually on the increase.

Recently, Chairman Hua's meetings with key foreign politicians and delegations have increased a great deal. This also includes his upcoming visit to Japan in May and his holding of vigorous talks with the Japanese. He will have to use his leadership skills to fulfill the tasks of a diplomatic envoy.

The impression and evaluation of foreigners concerning Hua Guofeng is not bad. A common point in these evaluations is that "his mind is sharp and he is an able person." The impression of the Japanese international trade promotion association delegation was that "he is steady and practical. Even if he were leading a big enterprise in a capitalist country, he would score achievements." This shows that Hua Guofeng gives people the impression of strength. He is a practical and steady type of leader.

A Negotiator Who Is Difficult To Deal With

However, the delegation of the Japan-China friendly Diet members alliance held that in negotiations, Hua Guofeng is not a negotiator who can be dealt with easily. Although he is relaxed when he begins his talks, "At the crucial moment, he becomes alert. He also raises his voice and his manner of speaking also changes."

During the talks between the Japanese and Chinese heads of state last year, Hua Guofeng did not have any records in his hands. However, during the hour-long negotiations, he kept referring to the relevant figures, revealing the deposits in opening up coal mines and other energy resources. This shows that he is not only a very diligent person in learning the facts, but also that he is striving to be a leader who is very good in economics.

Hua Guofeng's reputation is not only rising among the foreigners, but it is also taking root among the Chinese. The evaluation of the Chinese people is that "he is a reliable leader." The reason why Hua Guofeng can be trusted by his fellow countrymen is believed to be not only his steady character, but also the fact that his wife never accompanies him to public gatherings. This is also an important factor for him to win the people's trust and establish his reputation!

He Never Brings His Wife With Him to Public Gatherings

Hua Guofeng never takes his wife to banquets or on his visits abroad. Many people in Beijing do not even know who Madame Hua is. When reporters ask him about his wife, Hua Guofeng always says: "This is private business...." It is thought that he has done this because former Chairman Mao Zedong's wife Jiang Qing was active in the political arena. She not only damaged Chairman Mao's prestige, but also brought disorder to China. Hua Guofeng must have learned this lesson.

Hua Guofeng is only 59 years old. He could be called the youngest among the Chinese leaders. He uses his youthful vitality to actively strengthen his contacts with the public. This is believed to be another reason for his rising reputation. During his visit to a people's commune in the Lunar New Year this year, he ate steamed pork dumplings with the peasants. During the devastating earthquake in 1976 in Tangshan municipality, Hebei, Hua Guofeng showed great concern and personally made five comfort inspections.

In Step With the Practical Faction

In early spring this year, there were rumors that Hua Guofeng's position was shaky. This was because at the 5th plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, in order to deal with the business of the Chinese Communist Party and reestablish the Secretariat of the CCP Central Committee, Hu Yaobang, who was considered to be the confidant of Vice Chairman Deng Xiaoping, was appointed secretary general of the Secretariat. Other members of the Secretariat also belonged to the so-called "practical faction." Therefore, people thought that Hua Guofeng, who came from the cultural revolution faction, had been encircled by the practical faction.

In addition, since last year, Communist China has put forward its opposition to worshipping individuals and has opposed the method of inheriting the leadership on the basis of an appointment by an individual and has

decided that the leader should be selected by the collective leadership. It also stressed the collective leadership. This was regarded as an indirect criticism of Hua Guofeng. This was because Hua Guofeng's position as party chairman was arranged on the basis of former Chairman Mao Zedong's words "with you in charge, I am at ease." Hua Guofeng's position was indeed very unfavorable.

However, as Daisaku Ikeda said, if Hua Guofeng himself "has the characteristics of a practical-type leader," the confrontation between him and the practical faction of the Central Secretariat will not deepen, far from it; on the contrary, he will advance on the road of collective leadership with the practical faction.

According to rumors at the NPC last year, Hua Guofeng had reached a unanimous agreement with Deng Xiaoping, who had reached the peak of his power, and with members of his practical faction.

In addition, Hua Guofeng had also instructed people not to address him as "wise leader" and so forth. This has shown the measures for opposing the worship of individuals.

There are rumors that at the third plenum of the fifth NPC, Hua Guofeng might give his post of premier to Zhao Ziyang in order to spread out the power and strengthen the system of collective leadership. However, NPC Vice Chairman Deng Yingchao said: "There will not be any major personnel changes, but just an extention of the official rectification." Therefore, it is correct to say that at present "there will not be any major changes" in Hua Guofeng's position.

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HONG KONG PAPER ON FOUR DISMISSED PRC OFFICIALS AT LIU MEETING

HK200150 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 19 May 80 p 6

[Article by Lin Wei: "Wang, Chen, Wu, Ji Attend Liu Shaoqi Memorial Meeting"]

[Text] The memorial meeting for Liu Shaoqi has finally been held.

During the meeting held on 17 May, what aroused much interest was the fact that four officials dismissed from office during the fifth plenum of the party Central Committee, Wang Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Wu De, Chen Xilian also appeared at the meeting. According to the list of names released by XINHUA News Agency, the four attended in their capacity as members of the Central Committee. Apart from the XINHUA list, the report of China News Service on the Liu Shaoqi memorial meeting specifically mentioned: "Members of the Central Committee who were in Beijing, including Wang Dongxing, Chen Xilian, Wu De and Ji Dengkui, attended the meeting." Obviously, this ought to attract people's attention.

Many people were surprised when they heard that the four had attended the memorial meeting.

It is not unusual for people to be surprised since they still remember the way the CCP handled inner-party struggle during the past 30 years, and the ultraleftist ways and methods of ruthless struggle against those who committed errors.

Now, the CCP has proven with concrete action that it has discarded some of these methods.

Recently, during the fifth plenum of the Central Committee, the CCP simultaneously announced the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi and the dismissal of Wang, Ji, Wu, Chen from their posts in the Politburo of the Central Committee and other units of the party. The two decisions were made public at the same time. HONGQI said in an article by its commentator: "The historic resolution to rehabilitate Liu Shaoqi and the decision to seriously and properly deal with four comrades who have committed grave mistakes (Wang

Dongxing, Ji Dengkui, Wu De and Chen Xilian) show that our party possesses a thoroughly materialist consciousness, as well as courage. It upholds the truth and rectifies its mistakes."

The reason why Wang, Ji, Yu, Chen had to be dismissed is well known. To use the terms used in the communique of the fifth plenum, they have committed "serious mistakes." When Chinese economic expert Xu Dixin came to Hong Kong last month, he openly said that during the 10 years of antirevolutionary activities of Lin Biao and the gang of four to usurp party power, what were Wang Dongxing and other comrades doing? The Chinese people know very well in their hearts. If the four were to continue to enjoy the right of leadership over the party and state, it would be very hard to insure the stability, unity and modernization of the country. Hua Guofeng also told the "delegation of the Japanese Diet Members' League for Japan-China Friendship": The four have done good things but they made mistakes during the cultural revolution and then made even more serious mistakes after the smashing of the gang of four.

The dismissal of the four is actually a result of another inner-party struggle in the CCP. Obviously, this time, the previous methods of inner-party struggle involving ruthless struggle and merciless blows have been discarded. The dismissal of the four was done in the form of "approving their resignation." No epithets were hurled at them and they were not accused of committing fabricated crimes. At least, as of the moment, they are still members of the Central Committee; they are still in Beijing; they can still make public appearances and they can participate in important political activities. This is quite different from the situation in the past. Again, using the words of the communique of the fifth plenum, their cases were dealt with "seriously and properly."

The simultaneous announcement of the dismissal of the four and the rehabilitation of Liu Shaoqi and the presence of the four in the Liu Shaoqi memorial meeting are gestures with profound meaning. Liu Shaoqi always opposed ruthless criticism and inner-party struggle. His personal tragedy was the result of a mistaken form of inner-party struggle. The surprise appearance of the four at the memorial meeting, their appearance as members of the Central Committee and the explicit mention of their names in the namelist and news report were concrete actions designed to demonstrate the CCP's intention to change the previous ultraleftist methods of inner-party struggle. Is this not also a gesture to commemorate the dead?

No one can avoid making mistakes. In the past and in the future, people have made and will make mistakes. How should the CCP deal with people who have made mistakes? Now, the CCP is showing by its action that mistakes have to be dealt with but people are allowed to reform themselves and are not "condemned forever."

Another point must be mentioned, the order of names at the memorial meeting was Wang, Chen, Wu, Ji. However, when the fifth plenum announced their dismissal, it was Wang, Ji, Wu, Chen. Allegedly, the listing done by the fifth plenum was according to the gravity of their offense. Does the new order have any special meaning?

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG PAPER NOTES PRC PERSONNEL READJUSTMENTS

HK211253 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 21 May 80 p 2

[Article by Tien Ming: "Personnel Readjustments in the Central Organs"]

[Text] When Beijing was holding a memorial service for Liu Shaoqi, two namelists were published. One included the members of the funeral committee and the other the representatives of all circles of the party, government and army who attended the memorial meeting. The people included in the two namelists demonstrated that the memorial service was one held for the death of one of the highest leaders of the state. Great attention was attracted.

The namelist of the members of the funeral committee included 208 people. Apart from the 72 leaders of the highest organs of the party, government and army, there were 132 responsible people of the central organs of the party, government, army and other democratic bodies, including the ministers and directors of all ministries and commissions of the State Council. The namelist also included the first secretaries of the party committees of the 29 provinces, municipalities and regions and some commanders or first political commissars of the 11 military regions. However, it could be discovered that among the 29 provinces, municipalities and regions, there were personnel changes regarding the top men of the party committees of Qinghai and Xizang. Tan Qilong, former first secretary of Qinghai, was transferred to Sichuan to become the top man of the provincial CCP Committee. There has not yet been any official announcement about who is taking his place. The Xizang regional CCP Committee First Secretary Ren Rong was not listed. It is not clear whether he has been replaced by someone whose name might be found in the namelist.

The namelist of the people who attended the memorial meeting showed an even more extensive representation. The names listed under the heading "Responsible People of the CCP Central Committee and All Departments of the State Organs" are obviously personnel of ministerial level or advisers to ministries and commissions. Among them were names rarely seen in the past. Take for examples Miao Shusen and Geng Yifan listed behind the State Capital Construction Commission Vice Minister Peng Min; Li Woru and Chen Zhuo listed behind Ling Yun, vice minister of public security; Gu Yuengui

listed behind Sun Daguang, minister of geology; Wang Xiaoming listed behind Zhang Zhen, minister of the Fifth Ministry of Machine Building; Gu Guangshan listed behind Zheng Tianxiang, minister of the Seventh Ministry of Machine Building; Li Yu and Li Jihuan behind Yang Ligong, minister of Agricultural Machinery (it was confirmed that Yang Zao and Han Chun behind Li Jihuan are advisers to the Ministry of Agricultural Machinery) Zhang Dingyi behind Song Zheming, minister of petroleum industry; Wang Bohua behind Sun Jingwen, minister of chemical industry; Tian Ping and Ma Zai behind Liang Lingguang, minister of light industry; Mei Shengwei behind Zeng Sheng, minister of communications; Fan Shiren behind Wang Zigang, minister of posts and telecommunications; and Yang Shaoqiao behind Wang Lei, minister of commerce. It is believed that they are all vice ministers or advisers.

In recent years, many experts have been appointed as vice ministers of all ministries and commissions of the State Council. For instance, Vice Ministers Wang Ganchang and Jiang Shengjie of the Second Ministry of Machine Building are both atomic experts; and Vice Ministers Hou Xianglin, Yan Dunshi and Min Yu of the Ministry of Petroleum Industry are all petroleum experts who have worked in various large oilfields for many years and have acquired practical experiences. The fact that those specialized ministries and commissions are led by professional experts demonstrates the determination of the central authorities to develop the four modernizations in a soundly based way. Only with such personnel arrangements is it possible to basically eliminate the kind of armchair political leadership style of the cultural revolution.

There have also been some transfers of personnel in the military leadership organs. For instance, there are two additional deputy directors, Shi Jinqian and Hua Nan, in the General Political Department. Hua Nan is also director of JIEFANGJUN BAO. Former Deputy director Xu Liqing has been transferred to become second political commissar of the Chengdu PLA units. It seems that he is actually responsible for the political work of this military region, because First Political Commissar Tan Qilong obviously has to concentrate his efforts on Sichuan's party and government work. Former Political Commissar Gan Weihan of the Shenyang PLA units was a renowned general during the Korean war. He has also been recently transferred to the General Political Department to become a deputy director. The first secretary of the Liaoning provincial CCP Committee is no longer concurrently the first political commissar of the Shenyang PLA units. The position has now been taken up by Liao Hansheng, who was formerly with the Nanjing PLA units. The position of first political commissar of the Nanjing PLA units left vacant has been filled by Guo Linxiang, formerly political commissar of the Urumqi PLA units.

The fact that the central organs have readjusted their personnel and put their organizations on a sound basis is beneficial to strengthening collective leadership and training successors as a group. It is believed that after the third plenary session of the fifth NPC, there will be comprehensive arrangement regarding the personnel in all circles in accordance with the spirit of the central authorities in training successors. However, it is also possible that readjustments will be made some time earlier.

PARTY AND STATE

BELJING PRAISES LIU SHAOQI'S CONCERN FOR BROADCASTING

OW171401 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2010 GMT 16 May 80

[Article by (Mei Yi): "Comrade Shaoqi and Broadcasting"]

[Summary] Comrade Shaoqi consistently concerned himself with China's broadcasting work. He issued many important instructions on behalf of the party Central Committee. His instructions, together with those of Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, have become the dominant ideas guiding China's broadcasting work.

Since the days of my work with XINHUA News Agency in 1948, I had the pleasure of personally listening to Comrade Shaoqi's instructions. His most important instructions were issued on 28 May 1956 after he had listened to a briefing by the Central Broadcasting Administration. Following is a brief account of his instructions on various aspects of broadcasting work.

Comrade Shaoqi recognized the importance of rural wired broadcasting. However, he believed that in developing wired broadcasting in rural areas we should not increase the people's burden.

"In 1952 the Central Broadcasting Administration wrote a report to Premier Zhou asking permission to follow the example of the Soviet Union and a number of Western countries in collecting a listening fee from people owning radios or loudspeakers. In the early 1930's Stalin regarded the collection of this fee as an important means to increase state revenue. However, Premier Zhou criticized us, pointing out that the collection of a listening fee, which would affect almost every household, was a matter to be decided by the State Council and that it was not appropriate since broadcasting was not yet widespread and the people's livelihood was still difficult.

"In 1956, when briefing Comrade Shaoqi on our work in that year, we repeated the request on the ground that collection of listening fees would reduce state expenses for broadcast undertaking. Like Premier Zhou, Comrade Shaoqi also criticized us, saying that collection of a listening fee would affect too many people and should be prudently considered without haste. He also said that collection of the listening fee would hamper the development of broadcasting work. He said: 'You must not do anything to jeopardize

your present position.'" From this we realized that Comrade Shaoqi always had the interest of the people at heart.

"Comrade Shaoqi attached great importance to international broadcasting. He told us: 'Broadcasts are something that cannot be blocked. You must follow Chairman Mao's instruction: Make our broadcasts heard and make their effect felt throughout the world.'"

Comrade Shaoqi advocated increasing the power of our international broadcasts by using the most powerful transmitters available to us.

"Comrade Shaoqi also said: 'Domestic and foreign broadcasts have different audiences. The standards of cadres doing international broadcasting work should be higher.' He proposed hiring foreign experts to help us, saying that a country like China can afford to hire a hundred or so foreigners as our international broadcast advisors.

"Once Comrade Shaoqi told me: 'Many responsible persons of the European communist parties worked for Radio Moscow during World War II.' He believed that we should determine the political aspects of our broadcasts and ask foreign experts to help us with the foreign language translations so as to make our international broadcasts a success."

Comrade Shaoqi believed that it was not necessary to recruit foreign experts through party channels. He said that we could hire more capable personnel by offering competitive salaries.

"Comrade Shaoqi criticized us for trying to broadcast, in violation of our foreign policy, excessively leftist propaganda in our international broadcasts. In February 1950, shortly after the founding of the PRC we prepared a plan for our proposed international broadcasts, mainly to Southeast Asia. The plan called for publicizing the Chinese revolutionary experience, the national liberation movement and the armed struggle. Comrade Qiaomu did not approve of this plan but he nevertheless asked Comrade Shaoqi for his instruction, out of deference. Comrade Shaoqi agreed with Comrade Qiaomu. Their disapproval averted a political error in our broadcasts to Southeast Asia."

Comrade Shaoqi also attached great importance to television broadcasting. He instructed us to produce our own television transmitters and receivers. Shortly after he gave this instruction in 1956, we purchased a Japanese-made television transmitter and used it as a model in producing China's first television transmitter and related equipment in 1958. The transmitter started trial transmission on 1 May 1958.

"Before the great cultural revolution, we self-reliantly produced most of our broadcasting equipment including a 1,000-kw transmitter for medium-wave overseas broadcasts. When Lin Biao and the gang of four were in power, most of the television equipment was imported from abroad at the expense

of much foreign exchange. This puts to mockery the gang of four, who advocated 'self-reliance' and condemned the 'slavish comprador philosophy.'"

Comrade Shaoqi also showed concern for the training of broadcasting personnel and the contents of our broadcasts. He instructed us to pay more attention to the people's daily life in our broadcasts.

"In 1956, after listening to our briefing, he said: I do not often listen to radio. However, I have listened to it whenever I was ill. Radio does not interest people if it broadcasts political programs all the time. Broadcasts should forge close links with the people. We must broadcast political programs to keep the people informed; but it will not do to limit our programs to political matters only. There are many other things in which the people are interested. The people want to listen to a variety of programs. We must pay due attention to all aspects. Many people, for instance, like to listen to opera. We have many good operas and we should air them for their listening pleasure. In short, we must establish close links with the people in all fields."

Comrade Shaoqi also advocated broadcasting commercials, regarding them as one of the many ways to maintain links with the people. Recently we have started broadcasting commercials and it has been found that the people are really interested in commercials that concern them.

"These then are Comrade Shaoqi's instructions on broadcasting which I still remember. Of course, they are far from complete. To my regret, the 17-year written record I made was taken away and lost during the great cultural revolution even so, the instructions I have recounted here are still treasured as spiritual wealth by China's broadcasting workers. They will continue to guide us to victory."

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HONG KONG MAGAZINE ON SECRET PRISON IN NORTHERN GUANGDONG

HK220320 Hong Kong TUNGSIANG in Chinese No 20, 16 May 80 pp 24-27

[Article by Jui Chant'ing: "Senior Cadres in the Secret Prison in Northern Guangdong"]

[Text] During the great cultural revolution, in a mountainous and barren place at the foot of Jiufeng Mountain in northern Guangdong, there was a new secret unit: The "No 31" office. At that time I was a soldier in a unit in the army. One day, the leadership informed me that they wanted me to go to that company for training. I was told that this company was in charge of the security of this office.

What Was Called an "Office" Was Actually a Prison

After I arrived at my destination, the reality that confronted me frightened me. It turned out that the office was not a place where people sit behind their desks doing their work or dealing with important matters. It was actually a prison. It consisted of two ordinary-looking one-story houses situated on a barren hillside. Around it were walls rising more than 10 feet. They completely sealed off this place from the outside world. On the tall walls were a few stretches of thick black wires. Outside the walls were rolling tea plantations and beyond that, a vast emptiness. From the environment itself, one could see that this was a place that had been used to detain criminals who had committed serious crimes.

At that time, those detained there were leading cadres of the Central Committee South-Central Bureau, the former Guangdong provincial CCP Committee and the provincial people's council. Those whom I remember were: Jin Ming (the present first secretary of the Hebei provincial party committee), Li Yiqing (the former secretary of the South-Central Bureau), Li Erzhong (the current governor of Shanxi Province), Yin Linping (secretary of the Guangdong provincial party committee before the cultural revolution), Li Jiaren (for a while vice governor of Guangdong after rehabilitation), Zhou Nan and other comrades. I know that some of them had joined the revolution in the 1920's; some had followed Chairman Mao in the revolution during the Jinggangshan period; and some had even participated in the great port strike and held

important positions in the party since the 1920's. But at that time they were thrown in prison and different labels were put on them....

Each Person in Solitary Confinement

There was something strange with this "office." It could be called a prison, but it was different from a prison in some aspects. For instance, the distance between the two houses was only 5 or 6 meters but the one in front did not have cells for prisoners. On the contrary, the "investigators" lived there. This is impossible in ordinary prisons. At least we can say that the arrangement was very convenient for the "investigation" work of the "investigators." Whenever they felt like it, they could conduct an interrogation and ask whatever questions they wanted to ask. In short, this put the prisoners in a constant state of tension. They had to be prepared to deal with these people at all times. The atmosphere was more severe than ordinary prisons. There were armed guards outside and inside there was a roving sentry. At night, the rules dictated that everyone had to lock their doors from the inside and lights had to be kept on all night. The guards could see what was happening inside no matter what time of day it was. Of course, freedom in living arrangements and food was out of the question. They even had to ask permission to go to the bathroom. Everyone was kept in solitary confinement.

A few things provoked some thoughts in me. For example, one time, when I was on guard duty, I heard an "investigator" asking somebody: "Did you ever confess when you were arrested?" "No!" "You should not withhold anything. The policy is leniency to those who confess their crimes and severity to those who refuse to. Do you know that!?" Then the one being interrogated answered back: "You tell. When did I ever confess when I was arrested?"

I was expecting the "investigator" to strike back ferociously but surprise of all surprises, the "investigator" just coughed a few times and was not able to say a single word. He just recited some "highest directives" to threaten the prisoner and left resentfully.

I thought: Why did they not even find out whether someone had been a traitor when he was first arrested before they detained him as a "traitor"?

Yin Linping Angrily Rebuked "Investigator"

Their investigation of Yin Linping also left a deep impression on me. They asked him whether he had been a traitor or not. Yin Linping answered with a categorical "No!" The "investigator" asked sarcastically: Have you studied well the articles "Message Urging Tu Yuming and Others To Surrender" and "Whither the Nanking Government"? To his great surprise, Yin Linping was not a bit intimidated by this. His face turned pale from anger, he struck the table with his hand and shouted: "Nonsense! I have studied more than you have! You always want to intimidate people by Chairman Mao's words. Let me ask you: Was it not Chairman Mao who said we should 'seek

truth from facts'? Have you been doing that? You can investigate for yourself whether or not I was a traitor. If the investigation proves that I was, you can expel me from the party or even chop off my head. I am not a bit frightened by your antics! I had never been a traitor. What do you want me to 'confess'? If I lied and say I had been a traitor, would this not be fabricating history and deceiving the party? What is historical materialism? How have you been studying? Let me ask you: Saying that there was such a thing when in fact there was none, is that what you call seeking truth from facts and historical materialism...?"

Yin Linping got more and more agitated. The "investigator" could not say a single word. It was as if Yin Linping was interrogating him instead of the other way around.

Wang De Persisted in Taking Cold Showers

During this time I also got to know Wang De. For their own purposes, Lin Biao and the gang of four concocted the sensational "case of the 61 traitors" on a nationwide scale at that time. This affair was explained very clearly in the leaflets of the Red Guards. I think that during certain periods, the party directed these people to make false confessions to get out of jail which was the requirement of the struggle at that time. We will not try to argue whether such a decision was correct or not. But can we say that implementing the directive and decision of the party was wrong? If so, how are we to understand the rule put down in the party constitution which says "the whole party should obey the Central Committee"? How are we to understand the rule that one is allowed to have reservations about a decision if one has dissenting opinions, but one must firmly implement the decision? Moreover, a formal conclusion on the affair was allegedly made during the rectification campaign. To investigate people after the lapse of several decades seems very hard to understand.

Wang De was a person with courage. I saw him act like nothing was wrong. He persisted in his exercises every day. When midwinter came, the air temperature in northern Guangdong was extraordinarily low. Particularly annoying was the north-westerly wind which made us shiver when it blew. In the small hours of the morning, we felt so cold we had to wrap our bodies tightly in our overcoats. But Wang De always kept all his windows open during the winter and he used only a very thin blanket. After the northerly wind blew for a whole night, his bed and floor were full of sand and dust. But he did not care. At 0400, he woke up to take his cold showers. Looking at him made one shiver. At the age of more than 60, one is supposed to be weak and failing in strength and energy. If there was not a strong will sustaining him, he could not have done what would be considered impossible for ordinary people. I thought, they must have had this strong conviction: Live! Live! To die will be to let them off lightly.

Li Erzhong Read "Das Kapital" Over and Over

I think this was also true from Li Erzhong. He acted like there was nothing wrong and read his "Das Kapital" from sunrise to sunset. Once he told me that this was his second time to reread the book. He also said each time he read, he cleared up many questions. From the way he talked and the scholarly attitude he took in studying problems, it seemed like he had forgotten he was in prison and thought of himself as being in an institute of higher learning for research.

Jin Ming left me with an impression of dignity, wisdom and strength. He did not talk much. Under such harsh living conditions, his mattress, bed sheet and quilt were always kept clean and tidy, as though they had just been washed. I thought, if he were a dispirited and frustrated person, would he have lived such an orderly life and still be full of love for life? This is obviously not just a question of personal lifestyle and likes and dislikes.

Some people had thought that Lin Biao and the gang of four's persecution of the senior cadres would take the form of making them do physical labor to "torture" them. Actually, that could not be farther from truth. Physical labor would have been a luxury. One can imagine how carefree and wonderful one would feel to be able to go out and move around and breathe some fresh air after being confined within the four walls of one's room for the whole day. But some of them did not even have this most basic right. After Yin Linping rebuked his interrogators several times, the restrictions on him became stricter and stricter each day. His door was locked from the inside even during daytime. His window was covered with a blue cloth with only a small square opening two thirds of a decimeter by two thirds of a decimeter. But even this small opening was covered by a piece of cloth. When we wanted to look inside, we had to open that small piece of cloth. Northern Guangdong has a clear division of seasons. In midsummer, the tiles on the roof creaked with the scorching heat of the sun. Except to go to the bathroom and take a shower, the whole summer he lived in this room which not even a breath of wind could pass through. Sometimes he paced back and forth in the room. He would raise his head and look at the roof, as if counting the pieces of tile. Sometimes he gave out a long sigh. The lights illuminated his face which had turned pale for lack of sunlight. Sometimes I opened the small piece of cloth and saw him staring outside near the window. Maybe he had been standing there for a long time. When he saw that I was on guard duty, he seemed very happy. He immediately asked to go take a shower. (To tell the truth, after I heard the "investigators" interrogate him several times, I was rather lenient in giving him time to take his showers.) I opened the door. Then, strange things happened. I saw him carrying only a bucket and a towel, indicating that he was going to take a shower. Later, he came back to get a change of clothes. After a while, he came back to get a bar of soap which he definitely could have brought with him during the first few trips. At first I thought he was absent-minded. Later, I observed that he did this everytime I was on

guard duty. I realized that he was trying to increase his amount of physical activity. How lamentable! How could such a thing happen in our socialist country, and to old comrades who spent countless days and nights on horseback to win the state power that we have today? It was unbelievable!

Zhou Nan Reciting "Po Zhen Zi"

For this reason, the old comrades could not accept it. Their hearts were filled with pent-up fury. One time, someone from a northeastern province came to look for Zhou Nan to get information about a secretary of the provincial CCP Committee. This secretary had been Zhou Nan's bodyguard during the 1930's. Zhou was asked whether he remembered him. He thought for a long time and then answered he did not really remember him. The "investigator" who was with them immediately said he was dishonest. Zhou Nan explained that he had had more than 10 bodyguards at that time. Besides, that was war time and guards were changed constantly. Moreover, it was several decades ago. He was a commander at that time. How could he remember the names of all his bodyguards? The "investigator" did not stop talking, claiming all the while that he was dishonest. Zhou Nan had no choice but to remain silent.

For a time, he was feeling very low and depressed. He was also suffering from high blood pressure and dizziness. He usually could not sleep all night. In his room, he used to recite things with his authentic Zhongshan accent. One midnight, I was standing guard and he started to recite again. People in the rooms neighboring his asked me to stop him so that the others could sleep. I was wondering what he was reciting in the middle of the night. He did not seem to be reciting quotations from Chairman Mao. So, I listened for a while, and finally understood his Cantonese. He was reciting two very popular poems by Xin Qiji:

These enduring hills and rivers
Have left no trace of the hero,
Here in the domain of the king of Wu,
Dance halls and song-filled pavilions,
All romance and charm, have been
Beaten by rain, blown by the winds.
Setting sunlight on scrubby trees,
Ordinary lanes and pathways,
Where people say the royal Chi-nu once lived.
Remember those days
When golden lances and ironclad horses
Bolted ten thousand miles like tigers....

While drunk, I trimmed my lamp and examined my sword;
In a dream, I returned to the strung-out camps and bugle-calls.
My soldiers feasted on roasted flesh of eight-hundred-li ox;
From fifty-string zithers came a jumble of border melodies.
On autumn's sandy plain, I called the roll.

My horse flew faster than the stallion of Liu;
My bow twanged like a clap of thunder.
How I wished to discharge the kingdom's task for my prince
And to win for myself immortal fame!
Yet how sad--my hair turns white!

Xin Qiji was an outstanding patriotic poet during the southern Song Dynasty. His whole life was dedicated to a military career but he was quite frustrated in his old age. He wrote many poems reminiscing about his younger years when he led a majestic army in heroic battle. He expressed the feeling of concern for the unstable political situation and the frustration and indignation felt by a patriot in such a situation where he was unable to fulfill his great ambition. So he was using poems of the olden times to express his own indignation! I opened the door and walked in. Because he was hard of hearing, I wrote on a piece of paper telling him not to recite any more so others could sleep. I added another remark: "It is not good to recite these things." If the office knew about this, I wonder what kind of trouble that would have caused!

He panicked for a moment, then said: "I did not recite anything...." He was not used to lying and his face turned red. He looked at me doubtfully. Obviously, the fact that a soldier from another province could understand what he was reciting, and two classical poems at that, surprised him. I wrote on the paper: "You were reciting Xin Qiji's 'Yong Yu Yue' and 'Po Zen Zi'." After writing, I tore up the paper and told him to go to sleep. When he saw that I had no malicious intent, he smiled like a child. Although he suffered from serious torments in prison, he always thought of ways to deal with them. I still wonder whether he was really hard of hearing. If Hua Ziliang could pretend to be insane as a tactic for struggle against the Kuomintang, why could he not pretend to be deaf to deal with the "investigator's" endless pestering and nagging! One time, I intentionally tried him out. It was like this: On a certain afternoon, lunch was served very late. It was almost 1300 but no one had come to tell us to eat. Everyone was obviously very hungry. So when I saw the female cook who was responsible for announcing meals walking out of the door, I immediately went to a spot that was a bit far from Zhou Nan's room and said softly: "Lunch is ready!" His room was nearest to the dining hall and he was indeed the first one to come out. I immediately pointed to my ears and waved my hands, indicating I thought he was not deaf. He did not refute me, but smiled instead. But this was how he gave the "investigators" headaches. Usually, they would ask something 10 times but he would not even hear once. The "investigators" had to write down their questions one by one. After writing so much they became impatient.

They Were Able To Guess Lin Biao and His Clique's Doom

In these days of darkness, I discovered that their concern for the fate of the state, the party and the people was manifested by their very high political sensitivity. After Lin Biao's plane crashed in Undur Khan on 13 September, this news was strictly kept from them. Not a word was said to them

after the incident. Normally, they were only allowed to read publicly circulated newspapers. They were cut off from all other sources of information. However, after barely 20 days, some of them with keen sense had already concluded that the clique of bandits bringing calamity to the state and the people composed of Lin Biao and his diehard supporters had already met their doom! Truly, even in prison, those with noble aspirations "hear every bit of sound made by the wind, the rain and someone reading a book, and concerned themselves with every affair of the family, the country and the world!"

The evening after national day, Wang De saw me standing outside his window. He started to recite aloud the "Foreword to the Second Edition of Quotations from Chairman Mao Zedong." After a while, he took the initiative to strike up a conversation with me by saying he wanted to find out whether he could memorize the "Foreword." He wanted me to look at the Red Book while he was reciting it to see if he could remember it. Those were the days when modern superstition with much religious fervor was being practiced. If somebody wanted to study Mao Zedong Thought, everyone was obliged to show support and give enthusiastic help. If I refused to assist him or prevented him from reciting or showed impatience with his demand, it would betray the fact that something went wrong with Lin Biao. So I told him I did not have to look at the text and he could just recite it because I could still remember the whole text. In fact, he proved that his request for an "examination" was completely unnecessary because he had memorized the piece thoroughly. He recited it almost in one breath without missing a single character. I praised him for memorizing well, did not stop him and gave a few remarks like "it would be good to continue studying like this."

He pondered for a while and suddenly, with unexpected boldness, asked me directly: "Hey, during the state reception in Beijing on 28 September, how come that leading cadre was absent?"

Suddenly, my body shook. This was top secret. How did he learn this so fast! I knew the seriousness of this question so I immediately said: "What is so strange about that? Maybe he was on duty for national day."

"Ha, ha," he laughed calmly. "Not only him. Wu Faxian, Li Zuopeng and others were also absent!"

He talked light-heartedly but confidently, not realizing a bit what danger this bold speculation could bring him. I gave a few remarks to warn him and told him he could make serious stakes by this kind of wishful thinking. He listened to me quietly and leisurely, standing there sternly like a statue.

The strong wind swept away the fallen leaves and torrential rain cleansed the vast sky. Today, along with the rest of the people in the country, they have finally gotten rid of the most tragic days in the history of the Chinese revolution. What lessons from experience should we seriously draw from this tragedy? Let this be food for thought for each and every Chinese and the next generations of the Chinese nation!

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HONG KONG PAPER COMMENTS ON PRC ROCKET TESTFIRE

HK190954 Hong Kong WEN WEI PO in Chinese 19 May 80 p 2

[Editorial: "An Effort for Peace: The Successful Launching of China's Intercontinental Rocket"]

[Text] According to XINHUA News Agency, on the morning of 18 May, China successfully launched its first carrier rocket to a predetermined area in the Pacific Ocean.

This brilliant achievement of the science and technology front of the motherland deserves the unanimous acclaim of everyone.

The predetermined impact area, with a radius of 70 nautical miles was located in the open seas at 7 degrees south latitude by 171 degrees and 33 minutes east longitude. The launching point is believed to have been Northwest China. The distance between the launching point and the point of impact is about 11,000 km. China previously launched an intermediate range rocket of more than 2,000 km and a long range rocket of more than 6,000 km. The range of the rocket launched this time is double that of long range rockets. Even if it was not termed an intercontinental rocket, it was indeed an intercontinental rocket.

The actual impact area fell within the predetermined impact area. There was a high degree of precision. It could certainly be said to be a "complete success." Experts held that to achieve such a success, there are three problems to be solved: The propelling force of the rocket, the navigation system and reentry technology. This means that China's electronic science and remote control technology have entered a new phase. According to estimates of the London International Institute of Strategic Studies: It involves "an advanced technology that the Soviet Union has not yet been able to fully master."

Further advances after intercontinental carrier missiles will be manned satellites and neutron bombs. The great motherland is advancing steadily in scaling the heights of modern science and technology. The prospects for modernized science and technology are just around the corner.

This was a testfire of an intercontinental carrier rocket without a warhead. It not only avoided polluting the atmosphere and the ocean and demonstrated the Chinese Government's concern for the life of people in the experiment area, but more importantly, it expressed the Chinese Government's ardent wishes for the pursuit of peace.

The building of the four modernizations requires a peaceful environment. The Chinese people's goal is to achieve the four modernizations before the end of the century. This great mission is higher and more important than any other. China had lost precious time for construction with internal strife. Now that the situation of stability in China has been established and developed. If the international environment is not peaceful China still cannot achieve this goal. This is the principal basis of China's peaceful foreign policy.

The Chinese Government and people are fully aware that one does not beg for peace but must fight for it. To win peace from the claws of hegemonist aggression, one has to rely on one's own capability. The defensive battle at Zhenbao Island and the punitive war of Lang Son revealed this profound truth. It has become clearer and clearer that the monopoly of nuclear weapons will only lead to a war situation of the weak falling prey to the strong. Breaking the nuclear monopoly and establishing a balance of nuclear power is the only way to make the hegemonists subject to deterrence by nuclear weapons and thus instill fear into them and make them more circumspect. It is in this sense that the present testfire of China's intercontinental carrier rocket is felt to be a contribution to peace in Asia and the world.

Australian Prime Minister Fraser pointed out: "No one should be surprised by this. At the same time, I don't think China will be criticized for this. Because China is concerned with the capability of other superpowers, it is only natural for a great and proud country with a large territory like China to desire to possess a similar capability."

At this time of instability in the international situation, the successful testfire of China's intercontinental carrier rocket is a contribution toward willing peace. It is a forceful demonstration of antihegemonism.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HONG KONG NEWSPAPER ON CHINA'S SUCCESSFUL ICBM TEST

HK190944 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 19 May 80 p 2

[Article by Shih Chun Yu: "China's ICBM: Hitting the Target at One Shot"]

[Text] Australia Verified China Hit the Target Area

Beijing announced yesterday that it had successfully launched its first carrier rocket into a predetermined area in the Pacific Ocean. This rocket was launched at 1030 yesterday. XINHUA News Agency sent out immediate reports of this and RENMIN RIBAO published an extra.

The Australian Defense Ministry announced that the point of impact of the Chinese ICBM fell within the longitude and latitude announced in advance. Right after Chinese announcement, Australia sent naval vessels for observation near the test site. They took pictures of several Chinese ships in the area. One of them was a guided missile destroyer and another was a supply tanker. According to their estimates, the Chinese Navy's ability to conduct activities in the open sea is of a fairly high quality.

The precision of the Chinese ICBM's point of impact indicates the excellence of their remote control technology. Without a certain degree of mastery of this technology, an experiment like this would be impossible. This missile is estimated to have been fired from Lop Nor in Xinjiang into the South Pacific. This is twice the distance to Moscow and within reach of the West Coast of the United States. Thus, China has broken the monopoly of the United States and the Soviet Union on ICBM's.

Other Countries Understand China's Strengthening of National Defense

Two days ago, Li Xiannian talked about China's experiment in Wellington. He emphasized the point that the purpose is to develop science and technology, accelerate the modernization of the country and to strengthen its defense capability to counter the threat of the large hegemonic powers. In the present international situation, particularly with South Asia, the Middle East, Indochina and Southeast Asia all under the threat of direct invasion and expansion, from the Soviet Union or its lackey Vietnam, China's development of its defense capability is more easily understood by other countries.

What the Chinese can be proud of is the fact that this is an ICBM which the Chinese have succeeded in producing by themselves. Before the founding of new China, China was still the much bullied and exploited "sick man of East Asia." Now, there are certain achievements in science and technology that China can show off.

An Indication of Advanced Science and Technology

Some people say that considering the organizational ability of the Chinese Communist Party, if China concentrates on developing a certain aspect it will be able to attain some achievements. However, things like ICBM's, hydrogen bombs and launching and recovering artificial satellites involve a wide range of technology. Without a strong contingent of scientific and technological workers and corresponding equipment they would be impossible.

Of course, if there had not been a great retrogression during the 10 years of the cultural revolution, all aspects of China's development would have been faster and better. The Chinese people are not dumb. This point should be affirmed before anything else.

A memorial meeting for Liu Shaoqi was just held the day before yesterday. Then, the rocket was launched yesterday, hitting the target at one shot. The timing may just be coincidental, yet actually it has some further significance.

Construction at Full Force and Faster Development From Now On

The nightmare of the cultural revolution is over. The most serious miscarriage of justice in CCP history, the Liu Shaoqi case, has been redressed. The whole party has called for carrying out the behests of Liu Shaoqi and fully restoring the fine tradition and style of the party. The whole country will continue to cure the aftereffects of the cultural revolution. From now on we will not conduct those political struggles and campaigns which create trouble out of nothing and waste money and energy. The whole country and the whole party will concentrate on the four modernizations.

If the 900 million Chinese people follow this correct line, and concentrate on construction, new achievements in various fields can be anticipated.

Presently, according to reports from Shanghai, China is now building jet airliners. The shipbuilding industry is also developing by leaps and bounds. With a certain amount of foreign investment and advanced technology, China's rate of development will be even faster.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'LIBERATION ARMY DAILY' NEW YEAR'S EDITORIAL

Beijing XINHUA YUEBAO in Chinese No 1, 1980, pp 6-8

[Editorial: "Be of One Heart and One Mind; Go All Out To Raise the Level of Modernization of Our Armed Forces"]

[Text] History has turned the first page of the eighth decade of the 20th century. The People's Republic of China has entered its fourth decade after going through the fifties, sixties and seventies. Now in our country there is a stable, unified, lively, and vigorous political situation. The national economy is progressing solidly in the process of its adjustment. The convening of the Third and Fourth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Congress, the Second Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, and the victory in the war of self-defense against Vietnam had a profound influence both at home and abroad. We are gaining more and more support and cooperation internationally. Under the leadership of the great Communist Party, the 900 million heroic Chinese, full of youthful spirit and full of confidence, are advancing toward socialist modernization, and without any doubt there will be great things in the eighties. Our homeland's prospects are bright.

Realization of the four modernizations is the party's political line and will be the major political activity for a long time to come. The present mission of the construction of four modernizations is to do a conscientious job of adjusting, reforming, reorganizing, and improving the national economy and to put it on the track of long-term, relatively high-speed development. The Chinese People's Liberation Army is the loyal protector of the socialist homeland and the four modernizations. We should spare no efforts to guarantee that the party's political line and the direction of readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement are carried out. Referring to the present situation internationally, domestically and in our army, Comrade Ye Jianying pointed out during the Second Plenary Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, that military work was like economic work and that we should do a good job of readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement work.

Military construction must make new and rapid progress in the eighties, and in the next few years, especially in 1980, we must firmly and conscientiously carry out the eight-point policy and with one heart and mind go all out to raise our army's level of modernization. Readjustment of the army mainly means readjustment of leading groups at all levels and readjustment of the establishment. Reform of the army mainly means reforming some irrational rules and regulations, perfecting rules and regulations, reforming the form and content of training according to the needs of modern antiaggressive war, reforming the cadre training system, and strengthening the building of schools. Reorganization of the army mainly means reorganizing the ideological style of leading bodies and the troops, raising political consciousness, strengthening organizational discipline, and restoring and developing the honorable traditions of our army. Improving the army means improving our army's level of modernization and battle strength on the foundation of readjustment, reform, and reorganization. Readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement of the army constitute a single entity whose aim is to adapt our army to the demands of modern warfare in every respect.

Modernization of the army is not just a question of weapons. The reorganization of the army must be more scientific and rational, grasp the building of cadre ranks, grasp education and training, strengthen organizational discipline, improve work efficiency and coordinated action, etc. In short, the solid grasp of readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement is the basic content of our army's taking hold of modernization now. Modernization of the army is intimately connected with modernization of the national economy, and cannot be separated from the necessary conditions of national material and financial resources. It must also consider the state of the army and must adjust and advance simultaneously in a measured fashion. Thus for the army to carry out readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement is a positive direction and a direction which combines down-to-earth spirit and military farsightedness.

After the Chinese revolution won victory nationally, modernization of the army became a part of the agenda and in succeeding years made important progress. However, the disruption and destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" obstructed this historical course. In 1975 the enlarged session of the Military Commission emphasized that "the army should be reorganized" and that "it should be ready to fight." In actuality this was an important blow against Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in an attempt to bring order out of chaos. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the Military Commission Conference and the All-Army Political Work Conference also convened. These three conferences set the direction, principles, and mission for army construction in the new era. The specific rules already existed basically, and this then established the foundation for shifting the emphasis of army work. Since then there have been new developments in the situation. Domestically there have been two important developments. One is that the Third Plenary Session of the party determined that the emphasis of the party's

work would shift to modernization, and the other is that the Second Plenary Session of the Fifth People's Congress determined the direction of adjusting the national economy and made it the first campaign of the four modernizations. At the same time, in the defensive counterattack against Vietnam we not only scored great victories politically and militarily, but we also gained important experience in actual combat and proposed demands for further strengthening military construction. Thus, the emphasis in military work is unusually clear; it should be shifted to building a modernized revolutionary army, and we should do a good job of readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement. This is the development and concretization of the spirit of the three conferences of the Military Commission.

To do a good job of readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement, the first task is to readjust leading groups and build a rank of cadres. It is clear that with a correct ideological and political line and the target of modernization, it is also necessary to have a correct organizational line as a guarantee and to rely on strong leading groups for implementation. In our army there is a large group of mainstays who have been through training in different historical periods and have abundant experience in running and building the army. This is most valuable. However, from the perspective of future wars, if we form our leading groups primarily out of leading groups who have done battle and are young and capable, we must do so in a measured and careful way. As concerns the demand for cadres, we must resolutely follow the standards set down repeatedly by the party and Comrade Mao Zedong and especially emphasize three items. The first is to uphold resolutely the party's political and ideological lines; the second is to be selfless and law-abiding, maintain party spirit, and root out factionalism; and the third is to have an enthusiastic revolutionary spirit and political responsibility and the professional ability to master the task. In readjusting the leading groups, we first of all want younger comrades who conform to these standards, and we definitely do not want to include any people who subscribe to the ideological system of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The stipulation issued by the Central Committee's Military Commission in 1977 as to which people could not join leading groups and which people could not be used again is correct, and now we must resolutely carry it out. The replacement of the old by the new is a natural law. Old comrades of the army should undertake this historical mission of training and selecting their successors and do a good job of passing on the baton. Young comrades should learn from old comrades. Leading groups at all levels should strengthen unity. All cadres, whether old, middle-age, or young should dig into modernization and become experts in their own posts. We should reform and perfect the systems of related cadre work and think of ways to train and select specialized talent in all areas in order to produce more talent faster. The building of a rank of cadres is a long-range undertaking and should be done well year after year. This year we should further deploy leading groups at all levels we

Military education and training should be conscientiously placed in a strategic position. We should certainly do a good job of military training as well as political education, cultural education, and training in work style and discipline. Military training and the training of the cadres should be grasped conscientiously; cadre training in particular should be emphasized in order to raise the cadres' level of tactical techniques and combined command. The army should establish a solid foundation of tactical techniques and emphasize doing a good job of combined training and improve as quickly as possible the ability of combined forces to fight in coordination. We should pay serious attention to and apply the experience of our defensive counterattack against Vietnam, pay serious attention to training reform and study new situations and new questions of education and training. Schools and leadership units at all levels and of all kinds should improve the quality of teaching and work hard to train military and political cadres and specialized technicians in all fields. We should continue to dig into the implementation of the party's line, direction, and policy education, strengthen the teaching of the basic theory of Marxism-Leninism, make patriotism and revolutionary heroism specialized curricula of the army's political education, and constantly stimulate the honorable feelings of cadres and soldiers to defend the homeland and the four modernizations as well as feelings of responsibility and a high degree of political enthusiasm. The army's work style should emphasize a high degree of concentration and unity, doing things strictly according to rules and regulations and establishing a regular sequence.

Political work has always been the lifeline of our army. The shift in key points for the army's work definitely does not mean that political ideological work can weaken. It should still be emphasized that politics takes command and ideology leads the way, because to do anything always requires a correct political viewpoint and always requires correct ideological guidance. Carrying out the four modernizations well cannot be an exception. The more we carry out the struggle for modernization the more necessary it is that we raise the army's political consciousness. Political and ideological work requires that we maintain four basic principles--i.e., to keep to the socialist road, to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat, to maintain the leadership of the Communist Party, and to maintain Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and eliminate interference from the "left" and right, so as to guarantee that the victory of modernization will go forward. Various ideological trends in society can influence the army, and we should conscientiously grasp the class struggle in the ideological field, establish proletarian ideology, and resist the corrosive influence of the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploitative classes. So that our cadres and soldiers will have noble ideals, we must have strong party spirit, communist morality, revolutionary spirit, and spirit of devotion--a view that sees the whole situation and has firm combat unit ideology. The interests of the individual must unconditionally serve the interests of the homeland and the interests of the people in

order to revolutionize well. We must get deeply into criticizing of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the ultraleftist line and continue to eliminate their poison and influence. We must firmly oppose anarchism, extreme individualistic thought, the pursuit of capitalistic freedoms and bourgeois factionalism. We should emphasize the idea of law and order and the widespread observance of national laws and regulations. Democracy and centralism, freedom and discipline, individual ease of mind, and unified will are dialectical unities. Both sides should be discussed, and as far as our army is concerned, we should especially discuss centralism, discipline, and unified will.

To do a good job of readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement, to raise the level of modernization of our army, we should further rectify the ideological line. Taking Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought as our guide, using practice as the sole criterion of truth, we should continue to seek truth from facts, proceed from facts and the unity of theory and practice, promote the emancipation of thought, and set the machinery in motion. Liberating thinking means opposing idealism and metaphysics. Maintaining the method of dialectical materialism, obeying objective laws, studying objective laws, and doing things according to objective laws is definitely not muddled thinking which departs from the four basic principles or from seeking truth from facts. The discussion of the sole criterion of truth should start with practice, and in terms of our army it should emphasize combining Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, and the concrete practice of the modernization of our army in order to study and resolve new situations and questions encountered in our jobs. In general terms as broad as military theory, army organization, authorized strength, and our army's strategy and tactics, and as specific as the reform of military affairs, politics and logistical work, the reform of management methods, workstyle and even the innovation and reform of present weapons, etc., at each level there are actual situations which are related and at each level we should study and resolve those questions which can be resolved at that level. Leadership groups should cut down on meetings and reports, pay more attention to efficiency, and give serious consideration to survey research, grassroots-level construction, and regular work. If we rectify the ideological line and purify the party's workstyle, we can predict that the work of readjustment, reform, reorganization, and improvement of our army will make very great accomplishments.

One one hand we should actively participate in and safeguard the four modernizations, and on the other we should do our own modernization well. The task is huge, but we are fully confident that we can complete it. Politically and materially we have excellent conditions for carrying out modernization. In the short 3-year period since the smashing of the "gang of four," our great party has led the entire nation to set things to right and heal the wounds created by the serious destruction of Lin Biao . . . the "gang of four," it has developed the superiority of the socialist system, and it has made enormous ideological, political, and

economic achievements which are obvious to all. If people compare the situation to the 10 years when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running rampant and the national economy was brought to the brink of ruin, they will understand that our full confidence in the four modernizations and in the future is based completely on a scientific foundation. Of course, we will still have difficulties and these difficulties will be enormous, but they are the difficulties in forward progress and can be overcome. Ideas of pessimism and inertia are entirely unfounded.

At present, the factors are increasing internationally for war, socialist imperialism's desire to exterminate us has not died out, and the danger of war still exists. We should certainly heighten our alertness and not slacken our military preparedness for a moment. To safeguard our homeland and the four modernizations, we should fully utilize the present advantageous opportunities to struggle with one mind and heart to raise the level of modernization of our army. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." The democratic revolutionary stage characterized by armed struggle and the practice of the 30-odd years since liberation prove that this is true. For us to build a strong socialist nation will certainly require as a mainstay a strong people's army. Not only must we carry out military construction well, but we must also carry out militia construction well. We must further strengthen unity within the army and strengthen the unity between the army and government and the army and people. A post in the army is unusually important, and unusually honorable. Every comrade in our army should be fully aware of the responsibility he himself bears. We should rally closely around the Party Central Committee and the Central Committee's Military Commission, inspire enthusiasm, be modest and prudent, study hard, intensify work, be promoters of the liberation of thought, be promoters of stability and unity, be promoters of the four modernizations, and build our nation and army.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

GUANGDONG PUBLIC SECURITY RALLY--On 5 May, the Guangdong provincial and Guangzhou municipal public security organs held a rally at the Zhongshan memorial hall in Guangzhou with the participation of 4,000 public security cadres and policemen. Also present at the rally were Yang Shangkun, Liu Tianfu, Kou Qingyan, Wang Ning, Yang Yingbin, Huang Jingbo, Sun Leyi and (Chen Jing), responsible persons of the Guangdong provincial CCP Committee, the Guangdong people's government, the Guangzhou municipal CCP and revolutionary committees and the Guangzhou garrison. Yang Shangkun and Liu Tianfu spoke when receiving the participants, pointing out the improvement in public order since November 1979. (Song Zhiying), deputy director of the Guangdong public security office, presided over the rally. Wang Ning also spoke, urging the participants to resolutely deal blows at counterrevolutionaries, special agents, spies and other criminals. [HK140448 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 5 May 80 HK]

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' CITES PRC PAPER ON CONDITIONS IN HONG KONG

HK151401 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 May 80 p 3

[Article by Lu Fang (0712 5364) reprinted from the 25 March ZHEJIANG RIBAO:
"Seven Months in Hong Kong"]

[Text] ZHEJIANG RIBAO editor's note: School teacher Lu Fang lived in Hong Kong for 7 months last year. During that period, she personally experienced the living conditions dominated by the capitalist system. She finally decided to leave and return to the embrace of the socialist motherland.

Comrade Lu Fang's article used simple unadorned words to record what she saw and heard in Hong Kong, thus exposing the real situation in a capitalist society. This article is very lively and convincing and is of great educational significance. We believe that this article will inspire people of the older generation who have gone through the old and new societies as well as members of the younger generation who have grown up in the new society and have not experienced the way of life in a capitalist society. [End editor's note]

I am a middle school teacher. My husband is a returned overseas Chinese from Indonesia. He applied to go abroad for medical treatment last February. I accompanied him to Hong Kong. After living in Hong Kong for 7 months, I finally decided to leave because....

It Is Another World

When I arrived in Hong Kong, I felt like it was another world. In Hong Kong, skyscrapers can be seen everywhere, there are buildings of over 50 stories and buildings of over 20 stories are quite common. There are overpasses circling high buildings. There is always a flow of traffic. Row upon row of all kinds of shops can be seen on all main streets. The endless array of commodities in the shop windows is a feast for the eyes. Most pedestrians are immaculately dressed and middle and primary school students can be seen neatly dressed in school uniform. At nightfall, thousands upon thousands of neon lights on various buildings glitter with dazzling splendor.

thus turning Hong Kong into a nightless city. At that time, I could not help saying that this is really a flourishing world!

A few days after our arrival in Hong Kong, our relatives invited us to eat in a restaurant. I discovered that all the waitresses were either young girls of 14 to 15 or old women over 50. They wore lipstick, necklaces and a tight cheongsam. They were all loudly dressed. I was shocked at the sight of the loudly-dressed waitresses. I then thought: The way they dress themselves up really does not suit their age! In China, young girls who are 14 or 15 years are happily going to school and old women who are over 50 are retired. However, in Hong Kong, the youthful years of these young girls and the remaining years of these old women are dismal and gloomy. I began to feel that Hong Kong, a flourishing world, is just like a skyscraper. The sunny parts of the skyscraper are gorgeous and splendid while the dark corners are gloomy and shadowy places.

High Cost of Living

In Hong Kong, a "wage earner's" (common worker) salary is HK\$25 to \$30 a day. (The following references are all to Hong Kong dollars.) A Hong Kong "wage earner's" monthly income including wages and overtime pay is about \$1,000 which is equivalent to more than 300 yuan. As a general rule, this income would be regarded as relatively high in China. However, many Hong Kong families with such an income still live in straitened circumstances and are always unable to make ends meet. This is because the cost of living in Hong Kong is very high. Although the wages are high, the expenses are also high. After learning that television sets, refrigerators and washing machines in Hong Kong are quite cheap, some people in China think that the living standard in Hong Kong is extremely high. In fact, although some high-grade consumer goods in Hong Kong are cheap, all daily necessities there are extremely expensive. Let us take food as an example. In Hong Kong, a jin of greens costs \$4 to \$5 dollars, a jin of frozen meat costs \$12 and a jin of spareribs costs \$18. I once spent over 96 on three tomatoes. Judging from the above, we can see that by using different references to measure the living standard in Hong Kong it is possible to draw different conclusions. A Hong Kong "wage earner" can buy a television set for 15 days' wages but a day's wages can only buy 5 to 6 jin of greens. People can give up watching television but they cannot give up eating greens as it is a daily necessity. My main feeling is that in Hong Kong, buying a refrigerator is not a problem. The problem is what kind of food will people be able to stock in their refrigerators. During my stay in Hong Kong, my refrigerator was largely stocked with soft drinks.

The rent for a room is the biggest expense of an ordinary Hong Kong family. A 10-square-meter room in Hong Kong costs \$500 to \$600 a month which is 50 percent of a "wage earner's" monthly salary. The great majority of the working people in Hong Kong live in very small rooms, each of which is about 10 square meters or more. This does not mean that larger rooms are not available. The fact is that the working people cannot afford to pay

the rent for a larger room. I once visited a "wage-earner's" home. There were six people in her family which was only an 11-square-meter room. A double bed occupied almost half of the total area of the room. There was a bed which reached the door of the room. A refrigerator was placed in the only vacant corner of the room. A television set was put on the refrigerator and an electric fan on top of the television set. When I entered the room, the host's little boy was doing his homework on the bed. Another "wage earner" told me that because his family could not afford to rent a room several years ago, his family used some scrap iron sheets to build a place to sleep under the eaves of a building. In winter, when the cold wind rushed into the place, the adults slept near the entrance to shelter their children from the wind.

In addition to the rent for a room, other expenses in Hong Kong are also very high. Hong Kong has compulsory primary and secondary education and students in primary and secondary schools do not have to pay school fees. However, every student has to spend nearly \$1,000 on books every semester. A student has to spend several hundred dollars on two uniforms every year. Since many families cannot afford these expenses, they are forced to ask their sons and daughters to stop going to school and to work as child laborers. Some students go to school during the daytime and do odd jobs at night to earn housekeeping money. Going to university is an impossible dream for sons and daughters of the great majority of working people. In Hong Kong's institutions of higher learning including the University of Hong Kong, the monthly school fees cost several hundred dollars and the mimeographed and printed teaching materials costs a lot more. The universities' doors are forever shut to a large number of talented young people who do exceedingly well in their school work but cannot afford to pay these fees. To keep up appearances, Hong Kong has set up some public hospitals. However, the medical quality of these hospitals is very low and there are frequent reports on the unskilled and faulty medical or surgical treatment in these hospitals. My younger brother's wife told me that she once went to see a doctor at a public hospital. The registrar listed her as No 28. However, the doctor only spent 24 minutes on the other patients who arrived earlier. During her meeting with the doctor, she found that she was not allowed to finish telling the doctor about her problems as he had already written out a prescription for her. Because of the distrust toward public hospitals, the great majority of patients go to see doctors at private clinics. However, doctors at private clinics charge a lot more. My neighbor had a cold and went to see a doctor at a private clinic. The doctor prescribed several pyramidon tablets for him and charged him \$100. Quite a few people in Hong Kong and Macao have tried to see doctors in Guangzhou. Although it is necessary to pay traveling expenses, it is still worth going to Guangzhou to see a doctor.

In addition to the high cost of living in Hong Kong, Hong Kong's prices rise almost every day. I once wanted to buy a plastic bucket with a lid. The first day I inquired about the price of such a plastic bucket, I was told that it cost \$16 dollars. When I inquired about it the next day, I

was told that it cost \$17.50. I did not know whether to laugh or cry about the following incident: Sometimes I took the bus. However, one day when I returned home by bus, I discovered that the bus fares had risen. After the international energy shortages occurred, Hong Kong was battered by international markets and prices in Hong Kong skyrocketed, thus greatly lowering the living standard of the people in Hong Kong. However, the authorities there have added fuel to the fire: Last May, the authorities began to levy an 0.5 percent [as published] income tax on every person with an annual income of more than \$10,000. As a result, the people have constantly complained about this.

The Difficult Struggle To Make a Living

After living in Hong Kong for a while, I found a job in a toy factory to support myself. Prior to working in the factory, I never realized that working in Hong Kong was so strenuous: After starting work, workers were like the spare parts of fast running machines. There was no time for workers to take a rest. I was tired after going to work. To support their own families, some "wage earners" in this factory had to work another shift in another factory. I know a female worker whose husband runs a won ton stall. They have four children. She always worked an extra 4-hour shift after completing an 8-hour shift. After her 12 hours of work, she returned home in a hurry to assist her husband in selling won ton. She worked till 0300 hours the next day. Then she slept a while. She had to arrive in the factory before 0800 hours to start work. To keep from showing her foreman how tired she was, she always drank a large cup of black coffee before going to work to fortify herself. I sympathized with her and worried about her health. If she goes on working this way, how many more days can she live!

"Wage earner" cannot afford to get sick. Getting sick means no income. Getting sick for a long time means losing one's job. Some "wage earners" who were seriously ill for a long time forced themselves to go to work to keep their jobs. I met a young "wage earner" working in a paint factory. He suffered from pulmonary tuberculosis. The color of the paint he sprayed and the sputa he coughed up were the same. I advised him to talk to his foreman so that he would be transferred to another post. He smiled a forced smile and said: "I do not let my foreman know about my illness. If he knew my illness, he would have kicked me out of the factory a long time ago."

Many "wage earners" work from their childhood until the day they die. In the factory where I worked, there were over 10 old men and women aged between 60 and 70. They worked strenuously everyday just like young men and women without taking a rest. When they find they are too weak to work, it is the time for them to end their miserable lives. Their bosses will regard them as worn out and worthless spare parts of machines and will simply replace them with new ones.

The difficulty in making a living has forced some good and honest people to go astray. After working in the factory for some time, I discovered that

after leaving work, some young female workers dressed themselves gorgeously and left in a hurry for an unknown place. Later, other female workers told me that they were going out to be "teddy girls" and "lao girls" (meaning prostitutes). After hearing this, I remembered that soon after my arrival in Hong Kong, I noticed that a certain limited-liability company advertised in newspapers for girls aged between 16 and 26. The company's advertisement said that it would pay wages in advance and that it offered several dozen dollars for each hour's work. I did not understand the reason for offering such excellent pay. My relatives later told me that this kind of limited-liability company was actually a brothel. Some poor young women, who have no escape are forced to go to such a place to sell their bodies and souls.

A large number of Vietnamese refugees came to Hong Kong last May, thus bringing in a large number of cheap laborers. Since the refugees lacked food and clothes, they only demanded \$10 for a day's work. Therefore, many bosses fired their original workers to hire the refugees. Other bosses lowered the wages of their original workers by a big margin. Hong Kong, which is called a "free world," is really too "free"! The masses of working people are "free" to find their jobs and the bosses are also "free" not to hire workers and to fire their workers at will. In the final analysis, there is only one "freedom" that is the bourgeoisie's "freedom" of exploiting and oppressing the masses of working people.

The Deep Differences Between Classes

Prior to my arrival in Hong Kong, I heard that there are restaurants and hospitals for dogs in the capitalist society. I half believed and half-doubted this story. After my arrival in Hong Kong, I realized that the story is true. There are restaurants and hospitals for dogs in Hong Kong. Moreover, quite a few bosses in Hong Kong hire nurses to take care of their dogs as if they were babies.

Since the dogs live in luxury, the life styles of these dog owners is imaginable. Many bosses indulge in luxury and extravagance and spend money like water. Some bosses change their private cars every month and spend several thousand dollars on a single meal. Some bosses have private swimming pools and golf courses in their luxurious villas. I once saw a newspaper report entitled "Poor Wretches Will Be Afraid of Seeing This." According to the report, a big boss spent over \$300,000 to build a bathtub. This sum of money is quite enough for a "wage earner's" lifelong living expenses.

However, the living conditions of some poor people are inferior to that of the bosses' dogs. Unkempt tramps can always be seen around the intersections of highways. With no one to turn to or rely on, they wander aimlessly, sleep on wrapping papers and find clothing and food in garbage cans. No one knows their final fate. I once came across a mother and her daughter begging in a park. The thin and pallid mother played the huqin and the teenaged daughter sang a tragic tune. The tune sounded familiar and I remembered that it was sung by beggars on the streets in Shanghai before liberation. For a while, I thought I was in preliberation Shanghai.

The deep differences between classes are created by the private ownership of capitalism. In the past, the ferry was the only means of transport for traveling between Hong Kong and Kowloon. Later, a tunnel was built under the turbulent waves of the sea, thus enabling people to travel quickly between Hong Kong and Kowloon. However, people have to pay to go through the tunnels as it is the private property of some bosses.

All big and small bosses are the masters of capital and the masses of working people are the slaves of capital. Hong Kong's "high society" publicly divides people into five grades. "Wage earners" are in the lowest grade and are kept at the bottom of society. In the factory where I worked, when the boss walked among the workers, no one dared say hello to him. This is because if a worker said hello to the boss, he would be insulted. Those workers who worked a bit slow or had a brief chat with each other were immediately rebuked by their foreman. I once saw a foreman kick over a stool occupied by a female worker and give her a ferocious scolding, calling her "stupid pig." The status of Hong Kong's "wage earners" is incomparable with the status of workers in China.

Returning to the Embrace of My Native Land

During my stay in Hong Kong, I came across quite a few people from China. Some of them were having a hard time. Working with me in the toy factory as "wage earners" were teachers, doctors and pharmacists from China. Most of them are university graduates. Having a university diploma did not help them find a decent job. It is true that finding a job in Hong Kong depends on one's own technical ability. However, successfully finding a job primarily depends on one's background and social connections. A fellow worker who was a graduate from the Department of Chemistry of the Normal University told me: "University graduates are nothing normal in this place. Last month a university professor worked in the downstairs kitchen!"

Some people had fond dreams of Hong Kong when they went there. However, the harsh reality had smashed their dreams. I met a girl from Fujian who admired the lifestyle of Hong Kong and was married to a man from Hong Kong over 40 years old. After the marriage, the man asked her to stay in China. However, she insisted on going to Hong Kong. After her arrival in Hong Kong, she discovered that the man had a wife and children in Hong Kong. Among those people who have arrived in Hong Kong from China, quite a few of them deeply regret not having stayed in China and some want to return. A young man who arrived in Hong Kong illegally from Guangdong told me: "I have suffered enough and I have worked myself to the bone there. People all over this place have discriminated against me. I will return to my native land even if I have to serve a reform-through-labor sentence of 2 years!" Later I heard he did return home.

During my stay in Hong Kong, I relied on financial help from my relatives. My living conditions there were pretty good. I had all kinds of articles for daily use in my home including a television set and refrigerator.

However, the capitalist world's queer phenomena of every hue and foul atmosphere almost suffocated me. My relatives once told me to give up my job in China and settle down in Hong Kong. I did not agree to this arrangement. I did not want to leave the people who brought me up and I did not want to leave the educational undertaking which I ardently love. I also thought of the future of my two children. What kind of future will they have if they continue living in this society in which there is mass indulgence in a decadent life and the weak are the prey of the strong. Therefore, I returned to my native land with my two children.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

NEGATIVE POPULATION GROWTH SAID NOT ACHIEVABLE

[Article: "In the Near Term China Will Not Be Able to Achieve Negative Population Growth"]

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 13 Apr 80 p 3

[Text] In response to an article titled "A Brief Discussion On Best Achieving Negative Population Growth in the Near Future" (summarized by our paper from the article in the journal HUANAN SHI YUAN XUE BAO, No 1, 1980), Ding Jiashu [0002 1367 2885] and Zhou Baixong [6760 2672 2646] raised different viewpoints. They mentioned the following in their commentary.

We support the control of our country's population growth, for it conforms to the reality of our situation. However, the various assumptions pertaining to the problems of our population growth should be based on an objective examination of the current trends. The article "A Brief Discussion On Best Achieving Negative Population Growth in the Near Future" says that: "negative population growth should be achieved within a relatively long time starting from now," and that "we should lower the present population of nearly a billion to a suitable figure, and stabilize it for a relatively long period." Therefore, it is necessary to "lower the birthrate to 0.05 percent," which means that annually, "among families which have not yet had any children, plans should be made to limit future births to 5 million babies. Also, plans should be made to even lower such a birthrate."

We consider such an assumption impractical, and that it should not be carried out to begin with.

Firstly, over the past 30 years, our population has increased by 650 million, and this population will be within the marriage and childbearing period in the coming 20 years. Even if we can succeed in limiting [families] to one child per family, the annual population growth will still exceed 10 million, which means that the birthrate will exceed 1 percent. On the other hand, our country's deathrate has declined to 0.0629 percent. Accordingly, it is impossible to foresee negative population growth even if the above plan succeeds. Nevertheless, the author of that article presumes that "only 5 million families should plan to have children," that is, half of all other families are not allowed to have children. Such an assumption is rather unreasonable.

Secondly, assuming that the proposal in the article is put into practice, and that it can be realized, what will the situation be 50 years from now? If by that time the life expectancy is more than 70 years (currently 68 years), then, among the 600 million people born over the past 30 years since the founding of the Republic, about 400 million will have retired, and those who will still be working will be less than a couple of tens of millions (that is, less than 100 million). On the other hand, according to the proposal of the author of that article, the annual population increase is 5 million (not even counting continuous decline), there will be a labor force of between 150 to 160 million within the coming 50 years. Therefore, putting two and two together, our labor force by that time will be over 200 million. By that time, these 200 million working people have to replace the current work force of 600 to 700 million, and it has to support a retired population of 400 million. (Twenty years from now, the 600 million people born since liberation will all be part of the country's labor force, including some born before liberation). If such a situation is to develop, will we not have a new "population problem?" Therefore, we dare not agree with the viewpoint and proposal of the author of that article.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

RESCUED TAIWAN FISHERMEN MEET RELATIVES, TOUR NANJING

Two Meet Relatives

OW201045 Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 0400 GMT 20 May 80

[Text] Among the crew members of the fishing boat ("Liansheng") No 2 from Taiwan's Chilong port who were rescued off the Zhejiang coast, two fishermen who are natives of Zhejiang Province happily got together with their relatives during their brief stay in Hangzhou municipality. They are Captain (Chen Hsing-chun) and first mate (Wang Feng-yun). Both of them left their homes in Zhejiang for Taiwan when they were very young and have not communicated with their relatives for more than 30 years. (Chen Hsing-chun) and (Wang Feng-yun) constantly worry about their folks at home.

During the short period of reunion with their relatives in Hangzhou, (Chen Hsing-chun's) mother was very excited to meet her son whom she has longed to see for many years. She used native dialect to tell (Chen Hsing-chun) of her longing since his departure and of the life of his relatives and the change in his birthplace over the past 30 years. Captain (Chen Hsing-chun) was very happy to see the good health of his mother who is now 74 years old.

Other rescued Taiwan fishermen were very delighted by the happy reunion between (Chen Hsing-chun) and (Wang Feng-yun) and their relatives. Deeply impressed by this happy occasion, several fishermen who are natives of mainland China also sincerely hoped to get together with their own relatives.

Tour of Nanjing

OW191406 Beijing Radio in Mandarin to Taiwan 0400 GMT 19 May 80

[Text] At the invitation of the Shanghai municipal fishermen's trade union, nine Taiwan fishermen went to Nanjing to visit Dr Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum on 14 and 15 May. These nine Taiwan compatriots arrived in Shanghai on 4 May after they were rescued from the perils of the sea.

The Taiwan fishermen arrived in Beijing by train on the afternoon of 14 May. They were met by guides from the Jiangsu branch of the China Travel Bureau

who greeted them cordially: "We have long been looking forward to this opportunity to entertain Taiwan compatriots."

With a feeling of great reverence for Dr Sun Yat-sen, these Taiwan compatriots arrived at the mausoleum in the early morning of 15 May accompanied by staff members of the Shanghai municipal fishermen's trade union. They were glad to see the picturesque scenery of the mausoleum surrounded by green mountains and they had souvenir pictures taken. At the gate to the mausoleum they saw the four big Chinese characters "Tian Xia Wei Gong [The World Is for All]," inscriptions in Dr Sun Yat-sen's own hand. They paused, looked up and had a good look at the inscriptions. They also saw a tablet in the pavilion carved with the Chinese characters: "Dr Sun Yat-sen, our chairman, lies buried here by the Chinese Kuomintang." The Taiwan compatriots asked their companions to take their picture. Captain Pan Sanyi said: "Please take a picture of me under this pavilion."

Behind the pavilion is a stone walk at the end of which is a platform where they could enjoy a panoramic view of the majestic scenery surrounding the mausoleum. Then they visited the memorial hall where sections of the "Outlines of the National Construction" by Dr Sun Yat-sen are carved on the marble walls. In the center of the hall is a marble statue of Dr Sun Yat-sen in traditional Chinese costume seated in an armchair. The Taiwan compatriots moved slowly from the statue to pay respects at Dr Sun Yat-sen's bier.

The Taiwan fishermen later visited the "Da San Yuan" restaurant, one of the most famous in Nanjing. The cooks were glad to learn of their visit and served them such famous dishes as "roast goose," "omelet sinews," "fried eel," and "braised duck webs." While enjoying these dishes, the Taiwan compatriots said: "Delicious! Excellent!"

Then they visited the magnificent Zhangjiang bridge and toured Xuanwu Lake and other sites.

The Taiwan compatriots returned to Shanghai by train that afternoon.

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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

DAUR NATIONALITY SOCIETY FOUNDED--Hohhot, 16 May--A Daur history, language and literature society was recently established in Hohhot. At the inaugural meeting, many Daur scholars and scientists presented their research papers. Some of the papers were studies of the Daur history between the 15th and 17th century, while others were on the connections between the Daur and Mongolian languages. The Daur people have glorious traditions. They displayed an extraordinary heroic and indomitable spirit in resisting the aggression of tsarist Russia and in defending the motherland's northern frontier during the 17th century. The film "Ao-lei Yi-lan," recently shown in various parts of the country, vividly portrayed the heroic, moving deeds of the Daur people in their struggle against the Russians at that time. Meng-he was elected president and Chuo-luo-ba-gen, Su-chang-de, Ba-da-rong-ga, Na-mu-si-lai, Ao-deng-gua, Si-ri-gu-leng and En-he-ba-tu vice presidents of the society. Ao-deng-gua was also elected secretary of the society.
[Text] [OW160720 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0210 GMT 16 May 80]

COLLEGE GRADUATES--Beijing, 21 May--More than 73,000 students will graduate from the country's 2 or 3-year term colleges in this summer. They will be the first group of college graduates since the country restored the system of college entrance examinations. They were enrolled in 1977 or 1978 and, upon graduation, will be assigned to various localities and departments. Most of these students will graduate from teachers colleges. [Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0125 GMT 21 May 80]

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END

SELECTIVE LIST OF JPRS SERIAL REPORTS

CHINA SERIAL REPORTS

CHINA REPORT: Agriculture
CHINA REPORT: Economic Affairs
CHINA REPORT: Plant and Installation Data
CHINA REPORT: Political, Sociological and Military Affairs
CHINA REPORT: RED FLAG*
CHINA REPORT: Science and Technology

WORLDWIDE SERIAL REPORTS

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WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Nuclear Development and Proliferation
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